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## ART. II.—Translation of some Assyrian Inscriptions. By H. Fox Talbot, Esq.

### No. I.—THE BIRS NIMRUD INSCRIPTION.

#### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The last number of the Society's Journal (Vol. xvii, part 2) which has been very recently issued, has appended to it a Memoir, by Sir H. Rawlinson, on the inscribed cylinders discovered by him at Birs Nimrud.<sup>1</sup>

I have been for some time engaged in preparing translations of many of the inscriptions which exist in the British Museum and elsewhere, with the view of offering them to the Society. Among these, I have examined the inscription of Birs Nimrud and I wish to be permitted to present my translation to the Society before I proceed to study that which was prepared, as much as five years ago, when these studies were less advanced than at present, by our master in this branch of science, Sir H. Rawlinson.

The very peculiar difficulties of this enquiry, and the somewhat shadowy nature of the evidence (as it still appears to many well informed persons) on which the Cuneiform records have been translated, seem to justify in this instance a departure from the more usual rule of proceeding, which is no doubt for a writer on any branch of literature to read and study all that has been published on the subject, or at least all that is easily accessible, up to the time of his own publication.

But in this case it is of so much importance that the vocabulary of a new language should be supported by the concurrent testimony of several enquirers who have separately deduced the meaning of the words and phrases from internal evidence, and from a large series of comparisons of various inscriptions, that I trust my method of proceeding will meet the approbation of the Society. It is in fact the mere following up of a plan which has already been approved of by the Society, and by means of which four independent translations of

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VOL. XVIII.

This now forms Art. I. of the present volume. Although it centains many excellent suggestions, I have preferred (for the reasons above mentioned) to present my translation to the Society without alteration. [May, 1860.]

the greater part of the important inscription of Tiglath Pileser I. were given to the world—a circumstance which I believe has had a considerable influence in promoting more generally than before a favourable appreciation of the Cuneiform studies and discoveries.

In a pamphlet, called "Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens," which M. Oppert did me the honour to send me, I found (p. 34) a translation of the Birs Nimrud cylinder, but occupying only a page and a-half, and almost unaccompanied by critical notes. With a considerable portion of this translation I am unable to agree, but in some passages the agreement is satisfactory. With respect to a second translation, which he is said to have published in the "Journal Asiatique" of Paris, I feel it necessary to observe that I have not seen it.

### Inscription.—First Column.

- 1. Nabiu-kudur-ussur sar Babel Nabochodrossor rex Babylonis
- 2. ribitu kinu itut kun libbi Marduk
  rex maximus unitus firmè cordi dei Marduchi
  vel optimus
- 3. ishakku tsiri naram Nabiu sacerdos summus colens deum Nabo
- 4. mida imga sha ana alkakat ili dandanni
  rex gloriosus quem ad celebrandas Dei omnium maximi
  vel imperator laudes
- 5. nasha utzuna-su excitavit eum animus suus
- 6. shakanakku la abkha zanin beth shaggathu sacerdos sine culpá restaurator templorum vel purus
- 7. u beth zida et thesaurorum sacrorum
- 8. bal asharidu sha Nabiu-pal-ussur filius natu maximus Nabopolassaris
- 9. sar · Babel anaku regis Babylonis ego sum

- 10. ninum¹ Marduk belni rabu gratia dei Marduchi domini magn vel favor
- 11. kinish ebnannima splendidė creavit me²
- 12. zaninut-tsu ebisu wemahiranni sacra edificia ejus perficere me jussi
- 13. Nabiu pakit kishat shamie u irtsit deus Nabo judex incolarum omnium cæli et terræ
- 14. ishapa isharti weshatmikh gatu-ya sceptrum justitiæ tenere fecit firmiter manum meam
- 15. beth Shagathu beth-rab shamie u irtsit templum cultûs divini (quod est) palatium cæli et terræ (scil. in urbe Babylonis) vel domus pulcherrima
- 16. subat bel . . . . ilu Marduk domum regis omnium deorum Marduchi
- 17. beth Kua papakha bieluti-su (ct) templum Kua ædem sanctam imperii sui
- 18. kurassi namri shallarish ashdakkan auro lucente splendidè ornavi
- 19. beth zida csansish ebusu ararium sacrum de novo ædificavi (scil., in urbe Babylonis)
- 20. in kaspa kurassi nisikti abnam cum argento auro pretiosis lapidibus
- 21. era meshukanna erinu?
  super lignum . . . (et) lignum cedrinum
- 22. weshaklil sibir-su perfeci parietes ? ejus
- 23. Bitti el-ki zikurat Babel templum sphæræ (quod est) turris in urbe Babylone
- 24. ebus weshaklilu ædificavi (ac) terminavi
- 25. in agurri abnam zamat eilliti Cum lateribus politis lapidis cærulei? pretiosissimi

<sup>1</sup> or 'ninuv.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> or regios natales mihi concessit—regem me creavit.

- 26. wevalla rishi-sha<sup>1</sup>
  coronavi summum fastigium ejus
- 27. ninumi-su bittas-shapta-ki zikurat
  (etiam) perfavoremejus templum 7 planetarum (quod est) turris
  Bartsippa
  urbis Borsippæ
- 28. sha sar makri ebusu quod rex antiquus ædificavit
- 29. XLII ammat wezakkiru (ad altitudinem) 42 cubitorum perduxit
- 30. la wevalla risha-sha (sed) non imposuit coronam fastigio suo
- 31. valtu tamu rikuti innamu
  ob dies antiquos in ruinam ceciderat (hæc turris)
  [præ magnā vetustate]
- 82. la sutisuru mutsio mie-sha
  non curati fuerant canales aquarum ejus
  [omninò neglecti fuerant]

#### Second Column.

- 1. tsunnu radu proprid ruind (vel, suo ipsorum pondere)
- 2. wenathzu libitu-sha in terram ceciderant lateres ejus
- 3. agurri-taklupti-sha uptaddiru lateres pulchri vestientes eam disrupti erant
- 4. libitti-kummi-sha ishapik tilanish lateres formantes molem ejus effusi et cum ruinā dispersi erant
- 5. ana ebisi-sha belni rabu Marduk ad perficiendum eam rex summus Marduchus
- 6. weshatkanni libba commovit mihi cor

<sup>&#</sup>x27;sha' (ejus) sexu feminino (scil., sacræ domûs); etiam col. I., l. 30, 32; col. II., l. 2, 3, &c.

7 ashar-sha la eniu, la wenakkir (quippe) locus ejus non læsus erat non destructus erat vel vastatus

timibel-sha sacer lapis ejus primarius

- 8. in (...) Shalmi in ta shaga¹ (igitur) in mense Shalmi in die festo sive perfectionis
- 9. libitti-kummi-sha u agurri-taklupti-sha lateres formantes molem ejus et lateres pulchros vestientes eam
- 10. abtatti eiksiru
  novos circumposui
- 11. mikitta-sha wevazzitsu . . . . ejus firmiter posui
- 12. sidir sumi-ya sculpta verba nominis mei
- in kitarri abtatti sha ashkun in fastigio novo ejus figi curavi
- 14. ana ebishi-sha
  ad perficiendam cam
- 15. u wovallu rishi-sha gatu ashkun² et coronandam summitatem ejus manum firmiter admovi
- 16. Nabiu aplu kinu tzukallam tsiri
  Tu oh / Nabo deus filius gloriosus .... summe!
- 17. sitluthu naram Marduk

  amate à deo Marducho
- 18. eibshatu-ya ana damikti khadish operibus meis in his edificiis abundè
- 19. natlitzu
  da benedictionem!
- 20. malatha dara, shabio littuti
  copiam ævi illustrem prolem
  vel annorum

' 'shaga' is perhaps connected with 'shagathu,' public worship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here the other cylinder inserts four lines, which indeed seem necessary, for otherwise the sense is truncated.

- 21. kun guza, labari palie, sumsut nakiri firmum thronum longos annos triumphum super hostes
- 22. kashada mada yabi, ana sirikti surkam victoriam magnam de inimicis cum abundantia tu da mihi.
- 23. in itsli . . . . mu-ka kinu, mukin buluk in tutelå . . . . tud gloriosd O fundator . . .
- 24. shamie u irtsit
- 25. yabaraku tami-ya sudur littuti
- 26. Bakhar Marduk sar shamio u irtsit
  O fili primogenite Marduchi regis cæli et terræ
- 27. abi alidi-ka eibshatu-ya sumgiri (cum) patre tuo qui genuit te² opera mea benignè accipe
- 28. kibidu muku-ya
  (et) nomen meum in quo confido
  (vel, fiduciæ mæ)
- 29. Nabiu-kudur-ussur Nabochodrossor
- 30. lu sar zaninan
  (qui) etiam (vocor) rex fundator
  (hujus templi)<sup>3</sup>
- 31. lishakin in pi-ka
  protegas cum sceptro tuo!

The following lines are inserted on one cylinder, after line 15, col. 2:—

- 1. kima labirim ut (erat) in antiquo
- 2. esansish abni-su de novo construxi
- 3. kima-sha tamu valluti (et) prout in diebus prioribus
- 4. wevalla risha-sha coronavi fastigium ejus

<sup>1</sup> cum exuberantia, 'to overflowing.'

<sup>2</sup> Nebo enim Marduchi filius fuit

<sup>3</sup> seu potiùs, 'rex colens deum.'

### TRANSLATION.

Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the glorious Sovereign, closely united to the heart of Marduk, the great high-priest, the worshipper of Nebo, the glorious Ruler, whose soul has urged him to declare the glories of the supreme God; the blameless Priest, the restorer of the Temples and the Sacred Treasuries; the eldest son of Nabopolassar king of Babylon—I am he.

The favour of Marduk the Great King gave unto me a royal birth, and to me he hath intrusted the completion of his sacred edifices. And Nebo the judge of the races of heaven and earth hath the sceptre of justice placed firmly in my hand. The temple of Shagatha (or divine worship) in Babylon, which is the palace of heaven and earth and the chosen dwelling place of Marduk king of the race of the gods—and also the temple of Kua the shrine of his godhead, with plates of gold I splendidly adorned. The sacred treasury I rebuilt anew. With silver and gold and precious stones, incrusted upon planks of meshukan wood and cedar wood I completed its adornment.

The temple of the Sphere, which is the Tower of Babylon, I rebuilt and finished, and with slabs of the precious zamat stone I crowned its summit. And by his favour also, I rebuilt the temple of the Seven Spheres, which is the Tower of Borsippa, which a former king had built and had raised it to the height of 42 cubits but had not completed its crown or summit. From extreme old age it had crumbled down. The watercourses which once drained it had been entirely neglected. From their own weight its bricks had fallen down: the finer slabs which cased the brickwork were all split and rent, and the bricks which had formed its mound lay scattered in ruins.

Then the Great Lord Marduk moved my heart to complete this temple; for its site, or foundation, had not been disturbed, and its timibel, or sacred foundation-stone, had not been destroyed.

In the month Shalmi, on a festival day, I replaced and renewed both the bricks of its mound and the finer slabs of its revêtement. Then I firmly fixed up its mikitta and I placed upon its new crown the sculptured inscriptions of my name. For its summit, and its upper story I made . . . . like the old ones.—I rebuilt entirely this upper portion and I made its crown or summit as it had been planned in former days.

Then do thou, O Nebo, divine son of the supreme deity, thou most exalted tzukallam, and sitluth beloved by Marduk, bless abundantly

the work which I have done in these edifices! and grant unto me plenty of years, an illustrious progeny, a firm throne, and a prolong life, a triumph over foreign nations, and a great victory over my enemies. Grant these things unto me abundantly, and even to overflowing.

Under thy glorious protection, O (Nebo) who art the founder of the . . . . of heaven and earth, let my days . . . . .

Oh eldest son of Marduk king of heaven and earth, do thou, together with thy father also, receive with favour these works that I have made. And may that name in which I put my trust—Nebuchadnezzar—and also my title of "King obedient to the gods," be ever protected by thy holy sceptre!

### COMMENTARY.

[The following abbreviations are here employed: E.I.H.—The great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, preserved in the India House. Senk.—The inscription found at Senkerch, now in the British Museum. Phill.—Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, now in the possession of Sir T. Phillips, Bart., lithographed by Grotefend. Ges.—Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon. The Latin edition, Leipzic, 1833. In order to save trouble to scholars who may wish to verify the Hebrew words which I have quoted from Gesenius, I have usually annexed to each citation the page of the Lexicon in which it is to be found.]

#### First Column.

- Lino 2. 'ribitu' rex; whence 'ribitut' regnum, often occurs.
  - 'itut.' This passage is difficult. The following remarks may perhaps throw some light upon it. In the E.I.H. inscription (IX. ad finen), Nebuchadnezzar says to the god Marduk "I am the king... mudib libbi-ka:" which I render conjunctissimus cordi tuo, for 'wedib' signifies conjuncti or univi in several passages.
  - I think our present passage 'itut kun libbi Marduk' has the same meaning. 'It' signifies unus, in very numerous passages. It is the Assyrian pronunciation of the Chaldee γπ unus, which appears to have sounded nearly as the syllable ήδ in Greek, or heed in English. It is well-known that the Hebrew letter γγ Heth, is the same as the Greek H or ητα, and it occupies exactly the same place in the alphabet.' And whatever may have been the case in other times and places, in the Assyrian times the letter γγ often sounded as the Greek H. Thus, for example, the word

<sup>1</sup> Between Zain and Teth in Hebrew, and between Zeta and Thota in Greek.

- which the Hebrews write rebu' streets, is written 'rebu' or 'ribu' in the Assyrian inscriptions: 'ribati' in Bellino's cylinder, l. 62.
- To return from this digression. The Hebrew possesses (derived from same root nunus) the verb to unite (Ges. p. 417), which in accordance with the previous observations may have sounded 'yîd' or 'yehîd.' I think that 'itut' is the Assyrian participle from this verb, and meant unitus.
- Line 2. 'kun' firmus and firme, often occurs. The same in Hebrew 'kun' firmus and firme, firmus fuit, &c. (Ges. p. 468.) Thus 'kun guza' is firmus thronus in this inscription, col. II., l. 21.
  - 'libbi' from 'lib' the heart. So in Hebrew, לב cor; in Arabic the same.
- Line 3. 'ishakku' and 'shakanakku' (l. 6), both signify sacerdos.

  They seem to be words of the old Hamite language. The reader will do well to consult a very learned memoir by Dr. Hincks on the Priest-Kings of Babylon, in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," No. 16, for January, 1859, in which these two words are fully discussed.
- Line 4. 'mida' rex, vel imperator. I think it possible that we have here the true etymology of the celebrated name of King Midas. "Mida rex" in Horace. From the same root I derive the word 'nimidi.' 'Guza nimidi' is a royal chair of state: there is a bas-relief in the British Museum representing Sennacherib in his 'guza nimidi,' with an inscription. It is figured in Layard's "Nineveh," p. 150: "Sennacherib sar Ashur in [guza nimidi wesibu," &c. ('wesibu' sedens.)
  - 'Imga' glorious: an old Hamitic word. Compare E.I.H. 'rub imga' rex nobilis.
  - 'Alkakat.' We find in another inscription 'alkakat gurdiya' the praises of my heroic actions.
  - 'dandanni' greatest of the great. This epithet of the supreme god Marduk often occurs.<sup>2</sup> I am in doubt whether it should not, at least in some cases, be read 'rebrebni,' because I find that word in the Chaldee of Daniel, applied to princes. (Ges. p. 921.)
- Line 5. 'nasha' is to lift on high. Hebrew &v' (Ges. p. 689) sustulit,
  - 1 He renders it unitus, conjunctus fuit, se conjunxit.
  - <sup>2</sup> For example, PHILL. III, 2.

extulit, e.g. vocem, vultum, oculos, animum, manum, pedes, caput, &c. The following phrase occurs three times in Exodus, chapters xxxv and xxxvi: 'lebbi nashat-ni,' which Gesenius renders animus meus effert me, i.e. incitat me ad aliquid. This is very near to our phrase in 1.5, 'nasha utzuna-su,' and still nearer to what we find in E.I.H. 3, 19; 'nash-anni libbi' my heart incited me (to finish the templo of Shagathu). I think, therefore, that the meaning of 1.5 is well determined.

- 'Utzuna' pectus, occurs in other passages. Hebrew יוצן 'hutzun' sinus (Ges. p. 362).
- Line 6. 'Shakanakku' see the Note to col. II. 30.
  - 'labkha' so in E.I.H. l. 11.
  - 'Shagathu.' At first I supposed that the Beth Shagathu was an individual temple so named at Babylon, and that Beth Zida was another; but I have since found that in almost every great city there were buildings so named, and therefore I now think that it has the general meaning of temple, or place of worship. It is derived I believe from 'shagad' to worship, fall down in adoration before an image, &c., Hebrew ID (Ges. p. 703), from whence, as Gesenius well observes, is derived the Arabic 'shejed' to adore, and 'mesjid' a house of prayer (which latter word has become in English a mosque. I find that Mr. Cureton in his Syriac gospels, p. xlvii, says that 'Bith Shagadtha' means a house of worship, and 'mashgad' is worship. And Castelli's Lex. Syr. p. 578, has 'shagad' adoravit.
- Line 10. 'ninuv' favor, gratia. Hence the verb 'weninu' I show'd favour or mercy (to a captive monarch).
  - 'Belni.' At first I took this word to mean my lord, but I have since found that 'belnu' or 'belna' is simply lord. Thus we find one of the deities called 'belna of the gods.'
- Line 11. 'kinish' adverb from 'kinu' which occurs l. 2. 'ebnu' creavit; 'ebn-annima' creavit me.
- Line 12. 'wemahir' is usually he gave a commission or command; 'wemahir-anni' he commanded me.
- Line 13. 'pakit' judex, is Hebrew 'pakid' a prefect or governor, either civil or military (Ges. p. 837).
  - 'kish' gens, tribus, genus. I am inclined to derive it from the verb 'kish,' which means in Assyrian to divide, separate, cut off a portion or part of anything.
- Line 14. 'ishapa' sometimes 'ishpa' sceptrum.

- 'isharti' of justice, Hebrew ישר 'ishar' justus.
- 'woshatmikh' is the 'sha' or causative conjugation of 'timikh' to grasp, Hebrow 'temek' תמך (Ges. p. 1059), whence 'weshatmikh' he caused to grasp. When the king seizes a wild beast, or prisoner in battle, this verb 'timikh' is used.
- Line 16. 'subat' a dwelling, occurs continually. It is the Phonician word 'subat' habitatio (see Gesenii "Monumenta Phonicia," p. 427. He renders שבתו by habitatio ejus; the word is plainly derived from the Hebrew ושב habitare.
- Line 18, 'Khurasi' is the origin of Χρυσος. In Hebrew it takes the form 'chruz' or 'kheruz' (Ges. p. 368).
- Line 19. 'esansish' from 'san' novus.
- Line 20. 'nisikti' the etymology may be כֹיך 'nasik' princeps (Ges. p. 671), royal stones, i.e., precious stones.
  - 'abnam' plural of 'abn' a stone, Hebrew 128.
- Line 21. 'Erinu' compare Phill. III. 36. 'Erinu daliti valtu Labnanu dishti eilliti' cedar planks (δελτοι) from Lebanon's precious forests.
- Line 23. 'El-ki' seems to be the divine sphere. I conjecture that 'ki' is an abbreviation for 'kikir' Hebrew בכר sphæra (Ges. p. 479). Compare Phill. I. 39, respecting this temple.
- Line 27. 'ninumi.' Vide note, 1, 10.
  - 'bittas-shapta-ki' as I read it, I consider to be a rapid pronunciation (pronounced as one word) of 'bitta shapta ki' temple of the seven spheres. The first S is therefore merely euphonic. Unless we should prefer to suppose that the Assyrian language sometimes introduced an article like the Arabic 'al' and Hebrew 77 or 'ha.' 'Bit-al-shapta' would then be a sort of Arabic form, which, however, the Arabs would pronounce 'bit-ash-shapta,' euphoniæ causâ.
- Line 29. Here M. Oppert has fallen into a very serious error, and drawn others into it, which renders it requisite to give it our consideration. The passage merely informs us that an ancient king had commenced this temple, and raised it to the height of 42 'hu,' but had failed to complete its highest story. Now the 'hu' (which seems to be an old Hamitic term), is synonymous with the amma, or cubit of the Hebrews. This is proved by two passages of the E.I.H. inscription when compared together (viz. VI. 25 and VIII. 45. This remark was first made by Dr. Hincks). This is the simple meaning; but M. Oppert supposed the passage to

- mean that 42 ages or generations of men had elapsed since the first building of the temple, which would go far to identify it with the biblical Tower of Babel, especially as he finds in 1. 32 a statement that the language of the builders became disordered!
- Line 31. 'innamu' seems to be the Niphal of mukh' to decay (Ges. p. 610), whence passive 'innamuh.' Compare Scnk. I. 14, where we have simply 'imu tilanish' it had crumbled in ruin.
- Line 32. 'sutishur' is very often used for keeping a thing in good order, e.g. 'sutishur nisi' the good government of men, E.I.H. I. 44. 'mutsie mie' Hebrew 'mutza mie' mutza 'fexitus, and 'mi' water (Ges. p. 556), from 'mutza' lexitus, and 'mi' water (Ges. p. 567). Again 'mutza' is from \*\*Y' 'itza' exire (Ges. p. 435). The word is very common in Assyrian.

### Second Column.

- Line 1. This line is difficult. I believe that 'tzun' when it commences a sentence, signifies their own, or his own, as in that most emphatic curse in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser: "Tzun kabubut kushakka yabi ana matti-su latdi," may his own blood-relations be the traitors who shall admit his enemies into the land! Compare also what is said in the Annals of Ashurakhbal about the revolted Assyrians who were in arms—"tapan tzun kabubu"—against their own blood and kindred.
  - 'Radu' or perhaps 'uradu' I translate a fall to the ground,—
    'ruina.' It admits of two different etymologies in Hebrew;
    one is from ירד (irad' to fall down (decidit, concidit, Ges.
    p. 442), also to throw down; whence Hiphil, הוריך 'hurid'
    (dejecit, Ges. ibid.)
  - The other verb is TT 'radad' formed by reduplication from the simple TT 'rad' to fall to the earth, also to throw down (humi prostravit, Ges. p. 923).
  - 'wenathzu' had fallen in ruin; from 'natsah' נצה to be ruined (of cities) Ges. p. 682. 'Gallim natsim' are desolate ruins.
  - 'libitu' for 'libintu' euphoniæ causâ. From 'libin' a brick;

    Hebrew לבן.
- Line 3. 'taklupti' a substantive of the T form, from 'khallupti' a covering. In the annals, we read in the account of battle

- spoils, 'khallupti zab khallupti ahatra' armour of men and trappings of horses.
- ' uptaddiru' they were split. T conjugation of the verb 'patar' מַטְר, to split (Ges. p. 818), the same in Arabic.
- Line 4. 'kum' a mound. Related to the Hebrew Dp, 'kum' surgere.

  'ishapik' effusi sunt. Passive of 'shapak' pw, effundere,
  and in 'Niphal,' effusus est (Ges. 1032), said of earthworks,
  mounds, &c. For 'ishapik' (Senk. 15) has 'ishapku.'
  - 'tilanish' from Heb. 'tila' a ruin (Ges. 388). Assyrian adverbs usually end in 'ish,' but sometimes in 'nish.' Thus we find both 'abubish' and 'abubanish' in use.
- Line 6. 'weshatkanni' may be thus explained: 'weshatik' he moved,
   ('sha' or causative conjugation of 'etik' to move). Heb.
   p'ny, the hiphil of pny, which (Ges. p. 807) interprets
   movit, dimovit, &c. And thence 'weshatk-anni' he moved
   unto me, 'libba' (the heart), i.e. he moved my heart
   ('ana ebisi-sha') to finish it. With this passage may be
   compared E.I.H. 3, 19 'nash-anni libbi' he excited my
   heart; also E.I.H. 2, 10.
- Line 7. 'la eniu.' Compare E.I.H. 8, 37, 'la enu.' Its site was not much injured ('la eniu'), from 'enah' ענה, to injure. (Ges. 781.)
- Line 8. The rebuilding of Birs Nimrud is also given in the E.I.H. col III. ad finem.
  - I have translated 'shaga' in die festo. It is, perhaps, connected with 'shagathu' public worship. Other inscriptions seem to say that the foundation stone was laid "during the worship of the people." It is, however, possible that 'saga' may mean a grand day (from Chaldee 'shaga' NIW, great (Ges. p. 956).
- Line 10. 'abtatti' may mean new, from נעבט 'abat' mutavit. (Ges. p. 730.)
- Line 13. I am obliged to Mr. Norris for pointing out that the word on the cylinder is 'kitarri.' This I render the crown of the building, from 'kitar' a crown, Hebrew המתר, Greek κιταρις and κιδαρις.
  - 'ashkun' figendum curavi. 'Sha' or causative conjugation of 113, 'kun' fixum, firmum vel stabilem esse.
- Line 16. 'aplu kinu.' Here the god Nabo is said to be the eldest son of Marduk. Compare Senk. 5, where Nebuchadnezzar himself is called the eldest son ('aplu kinu' or 'bal kinu') of Nabopolassar.
- Line 22. 'kashada,' victoria, passim occurrit.

- 'ana sirikti' to an overflowing extent (Ges. p. 723); 'sirik'
- 'surkam.' 'Surku' merely signifies give thou! but 'surkam' give thou unto me!
- In another inscription where Nabonidus prays the gods to give long life to his eldest son, Bel-sar-ussur, he says: 'Suriku tami-su,' &c. Grant unto him length of days like the heavenly cycles, &c.
- Line 25. 'Yabaraku,' &c. This is obscure. The inscription of Nabonidus apparently has (iii. 38) a resembling passage, which I read 'Yabariku tami-ya litti sudiri sha yaati,' which seems to mean let my days be blessed with a progeny as valiant as myself.
- Line 26. In an important passage of another inscription, some fugitives from Babylon, defeated by Sennacherib or his generals, fly to the court of the King of Susa, and address him thus: "Oh, eldest son of Umman! (Bukhar Umman!) send thy army to our assistance!" &c, &c. It may be observed that Umman was the great national deity of the Susians, identical, probably, with the Ammon of Egypt. And it will be remembered that among the hieroglyphics of Karnak there is a scene where the ambassadors of an Eastern nation (perhaps Babylonians or Susians) are introduced to the presence of the Pharaoh Ramses, entreating him for peace, and they commence their discourse to him, "Oh! son of Ammon!" &c., &c.
  - 'Bukhar' is the Hebrew 'bukhur' הכות, filius primogenitus, (Ges. 147), and I think Nebo is here called "the son of Marduk," for we learn from several other inscriptions that he was considered to be the son of that deity. And is derived from הכור 'bakhar' to be first in time, to be early: applied to the first hour of the day, the first ripened fruits of the earth, &c., &c. And also in the sense primogenitus fuit. For this meaning Gesenius quotes Levit. xxvii. 26.
- Line 27. 'sumgiri' an imperative from a verb 'magir' or 'migir.'
  I have rendered it receive with favour. In the E.I.H.
  Inscription, Nebuchadnezzar says to his deity, 'Mugur nish gati-ya,' receive with favour the work of my hands.
  'Makar' to receive, seems a different word, but nearly related.
  - 'Eibshatn' works, from 'cbsh' to work, an Assyrian form of y, 'ebd,' which meant primarily to work (laboravit, opus

- fecit), (Ges. 726); ex. gr. in Exodus, xx. 9, "Six days shalt thou work."
- 'Abi alidi-ka' cum patre tuo qui te generavit. We must not read 'abi aliki-ka' which would be thy deceased father, and would be a phrase without any meaning. 'Alidi' comes from ילן, 'yalad' generare (Ges. 422, genuit pater); ex.gr. Psalm ii. 7, tu es filius meus, hodie te genui (yaldathi-ka).
- I render our passage then, "Do thou, O Nebo! with thy celestial father, receive with favour the works which I have made."
- But as the passage is an important one, I will add other testimony. In another inscription, Nabonidus addresses the Sun thus: "Thou, O Sun, together with the god Sen, thy father, protect the works of these three temples with thy holy sceptre!" Here the phrase is the same, 'Sen abi alidi-ka' (cum deo Sen qui te genuit). And shortly afterwards he addresses a goddess, the daughter of Sen, in exactly the same words, praying her to join with her father in granting their common protection to the Temples. Therefore I render our passage, "O Nebo! with thy father Marduk, bless these my works and protect them with thy holy sceptre!" for so the prayer concludes.
- Line 28. 'kibidu' nomen, usually 'kibitu;' ex. gr. E.I.H. (X. 1),
   'Kibitukku' (in thy name), 'riminu Marduk' (O supreme
   Marduk!), 'Bith ebus' (I have built this temple).
   'muku' Hob. מַקְּמָה, 'muku' or 'mukua' spes, fiducia.
   (Ges. 611.)
- Line 29. In this passage the king appeals to the god Nabiu to take under his special protection the royal name in which he places his trust, 'Nabiu-kudur-ussur.' Evidently for the reason that this name of good omen signifies Nabiu protect the king! I hope to show this on another occasion, when treating on the meaning of the royal names. But this view of the signification of the name makes the appeal to Nabiu to protect it, highly appropriate.
- Line 30. 'lu sar zaninan' is then added, a phrase of some difficulty.

  'Lu' means 'and moreover.' Singularly enough I do not find any mention of this important word in the writings of Assyrian scholars—Its force and meaning are well exemplified in the following passage (exceedingly analogous to the present one) which occurs in E.I.H. (four last lines of col. 1X.)

- 1. Anaku Lu sar tzanita
- 2. mudib libbi-ka
- 3. Lu shakanakku itbisu
- 4. zanin kala makhazi-ka.

I am BOTH the devoted King closely joined to thy heart AND ALSO the pious High Priest the restorer of all thy temples.

This important passage should be added to those which Dr. Hincks has collected in his essay on Babylon and its Priest Kings. I think 'sar tzanita' in l. 1 may refer to the king as "obeying the wishes of the gods," from Hebrew 'tzana' צנע humilis, submissus fuit (Ges. p. 868). But in Birs Nimrud, 1. 30, we read 'sar zaninan' either from the same root צנע, and the syllable 'an' which is often used absolutely for the deity, meaning rex Deo devotus, or elso from the ordinary verb 'zanin' to build, which would only give us the meaning of rex constructor. Any how it seems that the King implores Nebo, to protect with his sceptre BOTH his royal name Nebuchadnezzar and Also his title of 'Sar zanina.' The Assyrian kings had often two names, I believe that Sargon had the second title of "Shalmanezer," which has proved a source of much embarrassment to chronologers.

Line 31. 'lishakin' protect thou! The 'sha' conjugation of the verb 'kanan' to protect (tuitus est: protexit, Ges. p. 490), which has the same meaning in Arabic. The imperative 'kannah' protect, is found in the Psalms.

'in pi-ka' with thy sceptre. This prayer, or a similar one, is found in many other inscriptions. It is often changed for 'in shipti-ka' or 'shiptukka' which is equivalent. Hebrew DIW 'shebt' or 'shept' a sceptre (sceptrum regis, Ges. p. 977, No. 3). For instance, in the cylinder of Nabonidus, the god Sen is invoked to protect with his sceptre his three temples 'lishakin shipdukka.' And in another inscription of the same king, the Sun is invoked to protect the works of six temples.

This inscription determines the site of the great city of Borsippa, which was previously unknown. And when in addition to that it is remembered under what very interesting and exciting circumstances the discovery of the inscribed cylinders was made by Sir H. Rawlin-

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Journal of Sacred Literature," No. 16. January 1859.

son, I think that scholars will not grudge any amount of labour that may be required for the full elucidation of their meaning. On that account I have made my commentary rather fuller and more diffuse than would otherwise have been necessary.

I will terminate this memoir by transcribing M. Oppert's version. I must add, however, that it is about three years since I received it from him, and in the interval he may have changed his opinion upon some important parts, which I certainly think cannot be sustained, of his version.

### M. OPPERT'S TRANSLATION.

[From p. 34 of his " Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens."]

Voici la traduction presque littérale de l'inscription de Borsippa¹. ou de la tour de Babel :—

- "Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, serviteur de l'Etro Eternel, qui occupe le cœur de Mérodach, le monarque suprême, qui exalte Nebo, le sauveur, le sage, qui prête son oreille aux instructions du grand Dieu: le roi-vicaire, jugeant sans injustice, qui a reconstruit la pyramide (Babil) et la tour à étages (Birs-Nimroud), fils de Nabopolassar, roi de Babylone, moi.
- "Nous disons: Mérodach, le grand seigneur, m'a lui-mêmo engendré, il m'a enjoint de reconstruire ses demeures. Nebo, qui surveille les légions du ciel et de la terre, a chargé ma main du sceptre de la justice.
- "La Pyramide est le grand temple du ciel et de la terre, la demeure du maître des dieux, Mérodach. J'en ai restauré en or pur, le sanctuaire, le lieu de repos de sa souveraineté. La tour à étages, la maison éternelle que j'ai refondée et rebâtie, je l'ai construite en argent, en or et autres métaux; en briques émaillées, en cèdre et en cyprès, j'en ai achevé la magnificence.
- "Le premier édifice, qui est le temple des assises de la terre, et auquel se rattache la mémoire de Babylone, je l'ai achevé, j'en ai élevé le faite en brique et en cuivre.
- "Nous disons pour le second qui est cet édifice-ci : le temple des sept lumières de la terre auquel se rattache la mémoire de Borsippa, et que le premier roi a commencé (on compte de la 42 vies humaines), sans en achever le faîte, avait été abandonné depuis de longues années.

<sup>1</sup> Ello se trouve en ce moment au Musée britannique.

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Ils y avaient proféré, en désordre, l'expression de leurs pensées.¹ Le tremblement de terre et le tonnerre avaient ébranlé la brique crue, avaient fendu la brique cuite des revêtements; la brique crue des étages s'était éboulée en formant des collines. A le refaire, le grand dieu Mérodach a engagé mon cœur : je n'ai pas touché à l'emplacement, je n'ai pas attaqué les fondations. Dans le mois du salut, au jour heureux, j'ai ceint par des galeries la brique crue des étages et la brique cuite des revêtements. J'ai renouvelé la rampe circulaire. J'ai posé la mémoire de mon nom dans les pourtours des galeries. Comme jadis ils en avaient conçu le plan, ainsi j'ai fondé et rebâti l'édifice, comme ç'avait été dans les temps éloignés, ainsi j'en ai élevé le faîte.

"Nebo, toi qui t'engendres toi-même, intelligence suprême, souverain qui exaltes Mérodach, bénis mes œuvres pour que je domine. Accorde-moi pour toujours une race dans les temps éloignés, la multiplication septuple des naissances, la solidité du trône, la victoire de l'épée, l'anéantissement des rebelles, la conquête des pays ennemis! Dans les colonnes de ta table éternelle qui fixe les sorts du ciel et de la terre, consigne la longue durée de mes jours, inscris les naissances!

"Imite, ô Mérodach, roi du ciel et de la terre, le père qui t'a engendré, bénis mes œuvres, l'honneur de ma puissance, Nabuchodonosor, le roi qui a reconstruit ceci, demeure devant ta face."

### II.—THE INSCRIPTION OF MICHAUX.

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

This very curious inscription was discovered by the traveller Michaux in the ruins of a palace on the banks of the Tigris, one day's journey below Bugdad, not far from the site of the ancient Ctesiphon. It was brought by him to Paris, where it is now preserved. It was published many years ago in a little work entitled "Notice des Monumens du Cabinet du Roi," where it occupies two plates. A note (p. 71) informs us that these are taken from Millin's "Monumens inédits," 2 vols. 4to. Paris, 1802. This copy, though rudely executed, is tolerably exact, and is creditable to the work in which it appeared.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; C'est ce que la Bible nomme la confusion des langues.

### Age of the Inscription.

I feel great hesitation in expressing any definite opinion respecting the age of this inscription. It contains no date; and there would be no reason to suggest one date more than another, if it were not for a singular circumstance.

The inscription relates to the gift of a field situated near the Tigris to a person who rejoices in the remarkable appellation of Khiga-ship-Marduk (or "Marduk is the good king"), who was the son of a man called In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit, which probably means "chief priest in the holy temple." Now there is in the British Museum a certain black stone, found at Za'aleh, near Babylon, and carefully dated both at the beginning and the end as having been written in the first year of King Marduk-haddon. It relates to a contract, or agreement, and is attested by several witnesses, among whom occurs this identical Khiga-ship-Marduk, son of In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit. For surely this must be the same individual whose name is found on the stone of Michaux, there being absolute identity in the spelling of the names both of father and son. And it would be too extraordinary if another father and son had these same names; and therefore, if this identity is admitted, it follows that Michaux's inscription was engraved in the reign of Marduk-haddon.

Marduk-haddon¹ was king of Babylonia about the year 1120 B.C., and was contemporary with Tiglath Pileser I, king of Assyria, as is known from the celebrated inscription of Bavian. And the language of the inscription has certainly a considerable resemblance to the inscription of Tiglath Pileser in several of its phrases.

There is, however, rather a formidable objection to the adoption of so early a date as 1120 n.c. for the inscription, namely that there occurs mention in it of a city called Kar-Sargina; and if this be the Kar-Sargina founded by Sargina, king of Assyria, about 720 n.c., it is plain that the Michaux inscription must be four hundred years later than the period above named, and must have been written in the days of a king named Marduk-haddon the Second, of whom nothing else is known. But I rather think that the first hypothesis is the true one, and that the name Sargina was much older than the monarch who reigned in 720. Indeed, I think I have remarked the name in very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The anne is written 'Marduk-adan-akhi,' and so it is transcribed by Rawlinson and Hincks. But I think it likely that it was pronounced Marduk-akhi-adan or Marduk-haddon, judging from the analogy of the name of 'Ashurakhi-adan,' the Esarhaddon of our English Bibles.

old inscriptions, though I cannot at present refer to the passage. I may add that Dr. Hincke has given it as his opinion that this inscription is more than three thousand years old; he therefore considers it at least as old as the reign of Tiglath Pileser I, n.c. 1150.

The subject of the inscription is the gift of a field, part of the estate of a man named Killi, to his granddaughter—perhaps as her marriage portion. The estate seems to have lain on the banks of the Tigris. The field given was in shape like the half of a square; it was bounded on the east apparently by a high bank of earth raised by the river side to protect the land from the ravages of floods. On the north and south it was bounded by the remaining portions of the estate of Killi; and on the west by the estate of another person named Tula or Tulatza.

I have availed myself at line 9 of some remarks by Dr. Hincks on the value of the measure called the 'gar' in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. 23, p. 39. And after finishing my translation I consulted that given by M. Oppert in the "Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens," page 40, and dated May, 1856. In three instances I found it advisable to adopt his translation, and these I have carefully pointed out; in all other respects I have given my translation as I obtained it by independent research.

### Inscription.—First Column.

- XXIV zir as bitash I hu rebtu
   24 lineæ scriptæ ad amplitudinem unius mensuræ majoris
- 2. agar ir Abna-Nebo agrum urbis Abna-Nebo
- 3. tik nahal Ami-kalkal in bith Y Killi juxta flumen Aquæ-magnæ in fundo viri Killi
- 4. hatzib mulizi figuræ quadrilateræ elongatæ
- 5. III susi unta im shatra ter sexaginta (mensura) superiùs (ad) plagam Orientalem : vassadu versùs

- 6. namar khudada collem, vel molem terræ aggestæ
- 7. III susi kita im martu ter sexaginta (mensuræ) inferiùs (ad) plagam Occidentalem : vassadu versùs
- 8. bith Y Tunatzu fundum viri Tunatzu
- 9. I sus L gar shakki anta im sexaginta (mensuræ) et 50 gar (...) superiùs (ad) plagam sidi borealem
- 10. vassadu bith Y Killi versùs fundum viri Killi
- 11. I sus L gar shakki anta im sexaginta (mensuræ) et 50 gar (...) superiùs (ad) plagam irlu

  Australem
- 12. vassadu bith Y Killi versûs fundum viri Killi
- 13. Y Elisut-ussur tar Y Killi vir Elisut-ussur filius viri Killi
- 14. ana shal ir Kar-Sarginaiti
  faminæ urbem Castellum-Sarginæ (habitanti)
- 15. tar-ehal-su bith-khira Y Khiga-ship-Marduk ejus filiw uxori viri Khiga-ship-Marduk
- 16. tar Y In-beth-shagathu-zir filii viri In-beth-shagathu-zir
- 17. ashbit ana tamu zati idan ashbit in sempiternum dedit
- 18. u Y Khiga-ship-Marduk et vir Khiga-ship-Marduk
- 19. tar Y In-beth-shagathu-zir-ashbit filius viri In-beth-shagathu-zir-ashbit

- 20. ana ashkuri la rashi in rei memoriam sempiternam
- 21. nish ili rabi u elisut signa augusta deorum magnorum et dearum
- in naepa suata itshat
   in tabulâ hâc sculpsit

### Second Column.

- 1. Im matima in arkut tami Si aliquis in futuris diebus
- 2. iu akhi tari imria inter fratres (vel) filios familia
- 3. nisuti u salati virorum aut feminarum
- 4. arditi u kinati servorum aut ancillarum
- 5. sha bit Y Killi luhu beltarda domûs viri Killi sive juvenis?
- 6. luhu ituhu luhu yamu sive . . . . sive (quispiam sit?)
- 7. sha . . . . ana tabul atzib suatu ad destructionem sculpturæ hujus
- 8. u natzu suthurri anni et ruinam literarum scriptarum harum
- 9. itzatzu atsib suatu abscindet aliquid (de) sculpturd hac
- 10. luhu ana il weshashraku
  sive Deum' violenter franget
  i.e., imagines deorum
- 11. luhu ana ziga weshassu sive
- 12. luhu ana ramani-su ishakkanu sive

<sup>1</sup> Sapà 'Deus' ponitur loco 'deorum.'

- 13. hutza mitsira u suthurra (vel) numerum linearum et literarum scriptarum
- 14. weshannu mutabit
- 15. nikarta kitzata novas sculpturas
- 16. in tsibbi ishakkanu super (scil. tabulá) ponet
- 17. hatzib ki muluzi val nakim figuram terræ quadrilateram elonyatam non verè servatam (esse)
- 18. igabbu dixerit
- 19. u luhu assu arrati silikti sive cum? imprecatione (et) irrisione
- 20. nacpa atsib suata lupidem sculptum hunc
- 21. shak la shakka irba
  in locum non idoneum? elevabit
- 22. sinu ussurti nakara akha suas sibi tabulas figlinas novas effinget
- 23. timida wemaharu figlinas (eas) in conspectu ponet
- 24. nacpa anna weshassu

  (et) tabulam hanc loco neglecto reponet

### Third Column.

- 1. ana ami inandu
  in aquis submerget
- 2. in (pishati) itamiru
  in frustula franget
- 3. in abnam arbatu
  in lapidem quadrabit [soil., ut edificio cuidam construendo
  inserviat]
- 4. in (ash ?) isarrabu in igne cremabit

- wepasathu superficiem ejus abradet
- 6. Shanama ishaddaru (et) res alias inscribet
- 7. u ashar la mari et in locum obscurum
- 8. ishakkanu; (ansh?) suatu reponet virum illum
- 9. Anu Sin Bita deus Anu deus Sin deus Bita
- 10. u → Makh ilu rabu et deus Makh dii magni
- 11. etzish likkilmu-su
  velut arbor sic cædant eum
  (ferro cæditur)
- 12. dusut-tzu litzukhu likalliku zir-su patres ejus¹ abducant (et) spolient familiam ejus
- 13. Marduk bel rab aganu bella deus Marduk dominus magnus
- 14. rikitzu la padira liakli-su vinculis non rumpendis vinciat cum
- 15. Shemesli ditar rab (shamic) u (irtsit)

  deus Sol gubernator magnus cæli et terræ
- 16. lu-din zirdi-su: as palikti
  det vel tradat (eum) inimicis ejus (et) ad labores serviles
- 17. litzibit-zu captivum trahat eum
- 18. Sanna Inaru ami (shamie)

  dea Sanna dea fluviorum pluvias cæli

  illiti

divites vel copiosas

19. ishru akilu bari lilabbitsu
liberabit (et) fruges campi præcipites trahat
vel emittet vel frumentum

<sup>1</sup> Scilicet eorum monumenta, vel forsan ossa ipsa.

- 20. ki (....) in shaklat ar-su agrum ejus
- 21. lirtabbut pluviis vastet, rel inundet
- 22. Ishtar billat (shamie) u (irtsit)

  dea Ishtar regina cæli et terræ
- 23. tasibu ana makhar ili u stri
  quæ sedet in throno in ærario Dei et regis
  vel gazophylacio
  [nempe in palatio sic dicto, ubi simulacrum deæ Ishtaræ conspiciebatur]
- 24. ana silikti lirtidad-su ad pavimentum prosternat eum

### Fourth Column.

- 1. Ninev bal bethkhira
  deus Ninev filius cælestis?
- 2. tar >> Sin tsiru
  filius dei Sin sublimis
- 3. sutzu mitzir-su lineas in lapide sculptas
- 4. u suthurra-su litzukhu et tabulas scriptas ejus auferat
- 5. Gula billat rebta khirat Shemesh dea Gula regina magna uxor dei Solis irlu

in calo meridiano

- 6. tsimda la athza in tzumri-su nexus?
- 7. lishkum: daba u shirka infligat: morbos et ....
- 8. ki ami lirat-sa
- 9. > Yem tik rabu (shamie) u (irtsit)
  deus Yem (...) magnus cæli et terræ

- 10. tar Anu gardu filius dei Anu potentis
- 11. agar-su lirkhitzu (in) agrum ejus fulmina mittat
- 12. Sha adan tapli kallitu

  Elisa? datriw carminis potentis

  vel Dea simpliciter?
- 13. bukasta lishmukh vaccas arefaciat
- 14. shira birita
  catenis robustis
  vel cantilenis (magicis)
- 15. likabbir lu su liget aut vinciat greges ? ejus
- 16. Bushuk ilu tsiru deus Bushuk deus potens
- 17. tsuga u nibrita cœcitatem? et febrem?
- 18. lishkun as (....)
  infligat in armenta?
- 19. shal batatu ana kharripi-su famineæ aves (ejus) in incubatione sua
- 20. la ibishat nunquam pullos excludant
- 21. u ili rabi et dii magni
- 22. mala in naopa anni nominati? in lapide hoc
- 23. (...) sun zaburu arrat la

  irâ? corum conjunctâ (et) maledictionibus nullo modo

  napsuri

  solvendis
- 24. silikta liruru-su
  fontes aquæ maledicant ei
  vel canales, rivulos
- 25. adi tamu zati libbussu zir-su ad sempiternum exarescere sementa ejus faciant

### TRANSLATION.—First Column.

Twenty-four lines extending to the length of one greater 'hu' or cubit.

The field in the city Abna Nebo on the banks of the river Tigris, situated in the estate of the man Killi, in shape an elongated rectangle. 180 measures are the length of its east side, facing the high mound of raised earth. And 180 measures are the length of its west side, facing the estate of the man Tunatzu. And 90 measures are the length of its north side, facing the estate of Killi. And 90 measures are the length of its south side, also facing the estate of Killi. Elisut-ussur, the son of Killi, has given this field for ever to his daughter now dwelling in the city of Kar-Sargina, and who is the wife of the man Khiga-ship-Marduk, son of In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit.

And Khiga-ship-Marduk, son of In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit, for a perpetual remembrance of it, has carved the awful images of the great gods and goddesses upon this stone tablet.

### Second Column.

If any one in future days, among the brothers or descendants of the house of Killi; any one of their men or women, male servants or handmaidens, whether he be young (1) or......or......in order to destroy this sculpture and to ruin these writings, shall chip off any part of this sculpture, whether it be by injuring the Divinity [i.e. the divine images carved on the stone], or whether it be.......or whether.......... Or if anyone shall change the number of the lines of writing, or shall alter the sculptures and make new ones; or shall say that the form of the field has not been faithfully preserved so as to be that of an elongated rectangle, or shall with accursed derision lift up this tablet so high as to be useless; or shall make a new tablet [i.e. fraudulently] and place it conspicuously, while this one is left in a neglected place.

#### Third Column.

Or who shall fling it into the river; or shall smash it in pieces; or shall square it [in order to employ it as a common building stone]; or shall burn it in the fire; or shall scrape off its surface and write on it something else; or shall place it in an obscure corner;

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Whoever shall deliberately affirm that the measurements of the field have been fraudulently set forth in the inscription.

That man may the great deities Anu, Sin, Bita and Makh cut him down as a man fells a tree!

May they carry off the tombs of his fathers and plunder the possessions of his race! May Marduk the great Lord bind him with fetters that cannot be broken!

May the Sun, the great Ruler of heaven and earth, give him up to his enemies, a slave condemned to forced labour!

May Sanna, goddess of running streams, let loose all the copious waters of heaven, and sweep away in ruin the corn harvests of his fields!

May Ishtar, queen of heaven and earth, who sits on her throne in the Treasury of "god and the king," bow him down to the very ground!

### Fourth Column.

May Ninev,<sup>3</sup> son of Heaven, child of the exalted god San, cause his sculptured tablets<sup>4</sup> to be carried off by his enemies!

May Gula, the great queen, wife of the meridian Sun, inflict dirediseases on his......

May Yem<sup>5</sup> the great......of heaven and earth, son of Anu the powerful, blast his fields with lightning!

May the goddess.....the great enchantress, dry up his cows, and bind fast his flocks of sheep (?) by a powerful incantation!

May Bushuk, the great deity, inflict blindness and fever on his cattle (1), and may his flocks of domestic fowls prove entirely barren!

And may the great gods named on this stone, with their united anger, and with maledictions impossible to be dispelled, curse his springs of water, and for evermore burn up his seed!

### COMMENTARY .- First Column.

Previous Remark.—M. Oppert's translation of the first line differs entirely from mine. Unquestionably I may be in error respecting the meaning; still I hardly think M. Oppert's translation can be quite

1 Or perhaps, the bones of his fathers.

A palace so named, wherein was the image of Ishtar.

3 Ninev was god of war, and could cause enemies to come into the land.

4 These tablets were often doubtless of great value, since they constituted the monumental evidence on which the possession of lands depended.

<sup>3</sup> Yem was god of the sky, and answered to Jupiter Tonans of the West.

right. I had, in fact, prepared a long argument against it. This I omit, as controversy is far from being my object; but, perhaps, at a future time, if necessary, I may revert to the subject, and mention the objections which occur to me. With respect to my own translation, I may observe that it was the custom to mention the number of lines in an inscription, lest any should be fraudulently cut off. Thus it is said on Bellino's cylinder, "the number of lines is 63," and in our present inscription (II. 13) a curse is denounced against any one who shall change the number of the lines, 'hutza mitsira weshannu.' My translation therefore is not an impossible one; at any rate, I give it for what it may be worth. There is, however, one remark to be made in favour of my translation which is too important to be omitted, namely, that on reference to the inscription it will be found that the four columns (though they differ slightly in length) do really contain on an average twenty-four lines each.

- Line 1. 'zir' or' 'tsir' I think means a line, the same as 'mitsir' which often occurs, as in this inscription (II. 13), and 'mishir.' For instance, in Bellino's cylinder it is said: 'mikal mishiri' the number of the lines is 63.
  - 'zir' is also a line in another sense, viz., a lineage, race, or family; like linea in Latin. In Syriac a line (of a book) is 'sarta' from sar. In Greek σειρα is a line, viz., a cord or rope. In Chaldee 'sir' whas the same meaning, funis, catena. It is remarkable that this word has come to be used for a song; but so in other languages lines imply verses or poetry.
  - 'as bitash' of the extent of (one greater 'hu' or cubit); Hebrew 'pitash' wod to extend or expand (Ges. 819). Gesenius says it is the same verb as 'pishat' dwd per metathesin literarum. In Arabic 'bishat' (Ges. 846).
  - It will give some idea of the various interpretations to which Cuneiform records are liable, if I observe that the first line of this inscription might be read 'nishatzir as bitash Y hu rebtu,' and might then be translated as follows:
  - "It is comprised (or included INT) in the extent of one larger cubit," meaning that the inscription is of that size. I do not place much weight upon this observation; but I see nothing contrary to the genius of the language in it. This great uncertainty arises from the unfortunate circumstance that the Assyrians used letters to denote numbers. Thus \(\times\Psi\) signifies the number 24, and is often so used; but

- it is also very often used to express 'sar' 'sha' the king who. Similarly the first two symbols in our inscription, << \( \) can be read 'nish' and 'sha' respectively. The third is 'tzir' which united would make 'nishatzir.'
- Line 2. 'agar' appears to be an old word, identical with the Latin ager. In Hebrew we find "akr' agricola; Syriac, 'akra;' and Gesenius says, p. 54, "vide num ex codem fonte fluxerint appears et ager."
  - 'Abna-Nebo.' The name may be translated Nebo built it; but I rather think there was an ancient king of Babylonia called 'Ebna-Nebo' or Nebo created me, and that this was a city named after him; for I find a king of Babylonia mentioned in the inscriptions whose name was 'Shems-ebna' the Sun created me.
- Line 3. 'Ami-kalkal.' That this river was the Tigris can hardly be doubted; the stone having been found on the banks of that river. 'Kal' signifies great or strong, being derived probably from the Hamitic word 'gallu' strong; although the Hebrew supplies a sufficient etymology, viz., from 'kal' or 'kal' robur, vis, fortitudo. The sign 

  'Kil' robur, vis, fortitudo. The sign 

  'YY meant strong, and represents indifferently the sounds 'reb' 'dan' or 'kal.' The reason of this is simple enough, viz., because each of these words signified strong in one or other of the Babylonian dialects.
  - The sign >- 'kal' also meant strong. From these remarks we are able to explain why the Tigris was called the river >- 'kal-kal' which has hitherto appeared mysterious. It merely meant the very great river, equivalent to the river \(\times \greent \greent
- Line 4. 'hatzib' is the Hebrow עצב forma, figura (Ges. 786).
  - 'mulizi,' or rather as it is written in Col. II. 17, 'muluzi,' means almond-shaped, from γγ 'luz' an almond, in Hebrew and Syriac, as well as in Arabic of the present day. It evidently meant a four-sided figure, much longer than broad. The comparison was a rude one, but not more so than a rhombus! Many other geometrical terms had a very humble origin. Oval is from 'ovum' an egg; Cylinder from κυλινδρος a garden roller; Cone from κωνος, the fruit of the pine tree,

also a child's whipping-top; Cubes from κυβοι, dice; a Globe 'globus' or 'glomus,' meant at first only a ball of thread or wool rolled up, or anything amassed or collected into a heap, &c., &c.

- But what is rather curious, we have retained this comparison in the English language. Our lozenge is derived from the Arabic 'loz' an almond—pronounced as loze in English (see Wilkinson's "Egypt"). The name came with drugs from the East in the Middle Ages, and we now often say lozenge-shaped where rhomboidal would be the correct term; and even the grave science of Heraldry makes a spinster bear her coat of arms in a lozenge.
- Line 5. 'vassadu.' Perhaps this word was pronounced 'sussad,' for in Sargon's inscriptions it is not used, while the word 'shasid' is always used in the same sense.
- Line 6. 'namir' or 'namar' may be a hill or mound. High hills appear to have been called 'namri,' and if inhabited 'asib namratsi' high places or dwellings. There was also a warlike nation called the 'Namri;' but I believe it meant Highlanders in general. High tops of mountains were called 'amri' whence the name of the Amorites in Palestine.
  - 'khudad' כדך (Ges. 465) means both in Hebrew and Arabic to work very laboriously in digging earth.
- Line 9. Dr. Hincks says the 'gar' was three-fifths of the 'amma' or cubit; consequently 50 'gar' are equal to 30 cubits. The east and west sides of the field were  $3\times 60$ , or 180 measures long; the north and south sides 60+30, or 90 measures; consequently the length of the field was twice its breadth.
- Line 13. 'Elisut-ussur' may mean the goddesses protect him. I believe that 'Elisa' meant a goddess. Herodotus says that Venus was called by the Arabians Αλιττα, which, in another dialect, is Αλισσα (as μελισσα is μελιττα in Doric).
  - 'tar.' Various words are used for son in Assyrian, as 'tar, bal, abil or ablu, sib,' &c. When the word is expressed by a symbol it may be read in any of these ways.

<sup>1</sup> Along with many medical terms, as elixir, &c. Scaliger's derivation of loxenge from its shape, like a laurel leaf, is bad.

- or 'aiti,' which, according to M. Oppert, means a female inhabitant of the same place. This seems satisfactory.
- Line 15. 'bith khira' literally housewife, from 'bith' a house, and 'khira' a wife. Similarly a queen is called "the lady of the palace and wife of King....." (statue of Nebo in the British Museum).
  - 'khiga' good, 'ship' king. The name of the father is difficult to understand.
  - Perhaps 'zir' is put for 'tsir' the usual term for superior, and 'ash bit' is vir templi, so that the name may mean "chief priest, or minister, of the hely temple."
- Line 20. In this passage also I have followed M. Oppert, who translates souvenir inefaçable. I read 'ana ashkuri' for a remembrance. The syllable 'ash' is nearly effaced on the stone, but there are distinct vestiges of it remaining; 'ashkur' is from Heb. 'Icakar' a remembrance. The Assyrians constantly use the phrase 'ashkira nibitzu.'
  - 'la rashi' is used here for lasting, enduring, eternal: literally however, I believe it may be rendered not fleeting; צק or 'rash' is to run swiftly, to pass rapidly. It is possible however that the word comes from 'ratsah' און solvere (Ges. 948), and may mean indissoluble. If we could suppose that 'nasha' השו to forget (Ges. 692), which in Hiphil is 'hasha' השון, was sounded in Assyrian 'rasha' (and stranger changes than this have taken place in Semitic words!) then we should obtain a very easy explanation of 'ashkuri la rashi' a remembrance never to be forgotten.
- Line 21. 'nish' Heb. D) any very noble object that strikes the eyes of the beholder, especially a flag or royal standard, &c., in short, signum conspicuum of any kind. It may here mean the signa or embloms of the gods, which have a rather formidable appearance, as they are sculptured at the top of the stone, enough to frighten away any depredator!
  - 'u clisut' et dearum. M. Oppert makes the name of the giver of the field 'Sir-ussur' (rather 'Tsir-ussur'), and not 'Elisut-ussur.' In this he may be right. The chief objection to it is, that 'Tsir' seems an unknown deity. And he makes the receiver of the field sculpture the images, not of the 'gods and goddesses,' but of 'the great gods and the god Tsir.' But this meaning is not improbable. For the giver of the field being named 'Tsir-ussur' or Tsir, protect me! the

- emblem of his guardian deity, would naturally claim especial honour.
- Line 22. 'itshat,' third person singular, from Heb. TYY 'etshad' (Ges. 787) to cut or carve wood, &c., with a sharp-edged tool.

### Second Column.

- Line 1. 'Im' if, Heb. מת ('am' or 'im'), Syr. et Arab. an, Gr. ην, εαν. See many examples of the word in Ges. p. 69.
  - 'matima' aliquis, Syriac core, aliquis, quidam. Also res, aliquid, quicquam, quodcunque, omne, &c. &c. It is curious that this word, of which the etymology seems doubtful, should be so very ancient. It occurs in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser.
- Line 2. 'imria' men, people, Arab. 'amar' a man.
- Line 3. 'nisut,' plural of 'nish' a man; 'shalat,' plural of 'shal' a woman.
- Line 4. 'ardit,' plural of 'ardu' a servant.
- Line 7. 'tabul' destruction, from 'bul' to destroy. 'Abbul' I destroyed, and in the T conjugation 'attabul,' which has the same meaning.
  - 'atsib' אנצב sculpture (Ges. 786). It is especially used to denote graven images or idols. The cuneiform writing does not distinguish between this verb and אור 'hatzib' to engrave stone, but expresses them both by the same signs.
- Line 8. 'natsu' ruin, destruction, Heb. 'natsah to fall (Ges. 682).

  Also used in the sense of stripping off, detraxit alicui vestem.

  'suthuri' writings, 'esthur' I wrote, 'sithir' writing, &c., often occur.
- Line 9. 'itzatzu,' future of YYAT to cut off (Ges. 363).
- Line 10. 'ana Il weshashraku' shall break with violence the divine images. 'Sha' conjugation of 'sharak' to break. I think this verb is not found in Hebrew, but we have other examples in Assyrian: for instance 'ana bith kili la isharak' he shall not break with violence into the closed apartments, where the verb governs the preposition 'ana,' as in the present passage. (I have since however found the word in Buxtorf, p. 1549, DOD 'sarakh' incidere, lædere, vulnerare.)
- Line 13. 'hutza' the number or divisions, from הצה 'hatzeh' to divide.

  Another inscription says, "Whoever 'hutzun-su ishakkanu,'
  shall change its numbers or divisions," &c. &c.

YOL. XVIII, G

- Line 14. 'weshannu' shall change, Heb. שנכח 'shanna' mutavit. (Ges. 1025.)
- Line 15. 'nikarta' may be from ") 'nakar' novus, inauditus (Ges. 669), usually alienus. In another inscription we read "Bit-zu labiru inakkaru" they changed their old dwellings for NEW ones.
  - ' kitzata' may be carvings, either from קצה or קצה.
- Line 16. 'in tsibbi' upon it.
- Line 17. 'hatsib.' See Col. I. 1. 4.
  - 'nakim' (Ges. 886) קים 'kim' means in Chaldee to preserve, keep durably, or permanently. 'La nakim' not preserved.
- Line 19. 'silikti' may be from prow irridere. That derision is here spoken of is not unlikely, if we compare the inscription of Tiglath Pileser, viii. 68, where curses are hurled against whoever "in beth illan, ashar la mari 'pisirish' innakimu," "shall place my tablets with contempt or derision in some subterranean storehouse in a place where they cannot be seen." 'Pisirish' being from the Syriac 'beser' to show contempt or envy (Castelli, p. 108). 'Beth illan' a treasury, usually under ground; unless indeed 'illan' here means behind, as it does in some passages, so that 'bith illan' would be some out-of-the-way building.
- Line 21. 'shak' and 'la shakka.' Perhaps (Gcs. 1036) you sedes: 'irba.' 'Irbu' elevavit occurs frequently. Derived from and 'rab' altus.
- Line 22. In this line I am disposed to read the 4th sign 'instead of F' 'la.' This mistake occurs very frequently, especially in the "Standard Inscription" published by the British Museum. I think Line 22 may be read:

sinu ussurti nakura akha suas sibi tabulas novas effinget

chiefly because another inscription has:

itzirti sinatin nakra akha tabulas suas sibi novas effinget

which is analogous in meaning.

'ussur,' 'utzur,' or 'itzir' was, I believe, a clay tablet, Heb. 'yutzur' אין, which is from 'עצר' to mould clay as a potter does.

'akha' is perhaps another pronunciation of 'asha' to make.

Heb. עשוד.

Line 23. Instead of 'timida' I think we should read 'lamida.' The text will then stand thus:

> lamida res nullius pretii in conspectu ponet

wemaharu

- 'lamida' worthless things, from 'la' not and אמיד 'amid' prized or valued, which is from 708 'amad' astimare (Buxtorf, p. 110).
- ' wemaharu' place in sight, מראה is sight, from לא to see (Ges. 615).
- Line 24. 'weshassu.' This verb is used of 'leaving things behind,' and therefore of 'neglect.' Ex. gr. "rakab-ya ana tikkati weshassi" I left my chariot behind in the plains below (when I ascended the mountains).

#### Third Column.

- Line 1. 'inandu.' In other inscriptions 'inadu.' This verb is always used of water.
- Line 2. We find, from the Tiglath Pileser inscription, that the plural of 'ish' was pronounced 'pishati' (pieces). Probably 'ish' was an old Hamitic word which continued to be written, though otherwise pronounced.
- Line 4. 'isarrabu.' Hebrew 'saraph' DID to burn.
- Line 5. 'wepasathu.' Hebrew 'pasath' woo to tear off the surface.
- Line 6. 'ishaddaru' from 'shadar' to write.
  - 'shanama' other things, from 'shanu' alius. In another inscription we read "whether he be a nobleman or a military man, or 'mamma shanu' any one else.
  - Compare with our passage the closely resembling one in Tiglath Pileser, viii. 71. "Whoever shall scrape off my inscriptions and write his own name instead, or ('milima shina ikatzatzu') shall carve on my tablet anything ELSE." Where it may be observed that 'milima' is one of the forms of the Syriac word 'medma' anything. We also find 'manma ki' for anything. See note on Col. II, 1.
- Line 7. 'mari' visibilis. Hebrew כוראה.
- Line 8. 'ishakanu.' The verb 'shakan' is used for placing anything in lieu of another. The king's lieutenants who governed in his absence are called indifferently 'shanut' and 'shaknut.'
  - This 'ishakanu' scems to be connected with 'shanna' mutare. There is, however, another 'ishakanu' he shall place, from

'shakan' collocavit IUU (Ges. 1005) et passim occurrit. I do not know which is the word intended in the present passage; either would serve.

Line 11. 'Etz' arbor 3y. 'Etzish' arboris modo.

'likilmu.' 'kilma' or 'kilba' is an axe in Assyrian. In Hebrew 'kilpa' בילם in Syriac 'kulba' (Ges. 479).

Line 12. 'dusi' is constantly used for an ancestor.

'likalliku' Hebrew 'kalak' to plunder חלק.

Line 14. 'rikitz' vinculum, Hebrew DDT 'rikish' or 'rekesh.' This verb is commonly used in Assyrian for 'binding anything fast.'

'la padira' from IDD 'patar' to break (Ges. 818), especially to set free, by breaking a chain or bond.

'liakli' from 'akal' אָדְּעָ colligare: torquere (to twist a rope round, and bind). In this line I have adopted M Oppert's translation: "Que Mérodach l'enchaîne dans des liens indéchirables!" For, the prayer that Marduk may bind him with strong fetters, seems in harmony with the one which next follows, viz. "that he may be sold for a slave among strangers." The עקל or 'akla,' when used in a good sense, was a bracelet ef honour (armilla or torques) twisted round the arm. And thence it meant, any kind of fetters for the arms

Line 16. 'din' to give, 'idin' he gave, 'ludin' may he give.

'zirdi-su' strangers to him, enemies to him. Hebrew 'zir' 78 peregrinus (Ges. 298). We frequently find in the inscriptions the words 'zairi' enemies, and 'zirati' hostile things; whether words or actions.

' palikhti' forced labour. Hebrew פלח ' palikh ;' in Chaldee, laboravit et serviit ; frequent in the Targums.

'litzibit-zu' may he make him a slave ! for 'litzabbit.'

'wezabbit' I took captive, is a very common word.

Line 18. 'Naru' seems the plural of 'nar' a river; Arabic 'nahr'
Hebrew להר

Line 19. 'ishru' from Hebrew שרה solvit, liberavit.

'akilu.' Hebrow אכל fruges, frumentum (Gos. 53.)

'bari' from 'bar' campus, in the Chaldeo of Daniel, and in Syriac and Arabic (Ges. 171).

'lilabbit' from 'labat' לבט præcipitavit (Ges. 520).

Line 20. 'shaklat' may be streams, canals, alibi 'shalkat' from 'shalkh' מלח ductus aque: canalis pro irrigatione.

ar' may be the Chaldee word ארע 'ara' or 'arlia' terra.

Line 21. 'lirtabbut' probably from 'ratab' רטב rain (Ges. 935)

- Line 24. 'silikti' סלך. Gesenius says this root is obsolete in Heb., but preserved in Arabic in the sense of via trita.1
  - 'lirtidadu' may she bow him down to the earth ! is the T conjugation, from 'radad' ad terram prosternere.
  - Similarly we find 'lirtadu' from the simple verb \(\tag{7}\) of the same meaning, as in the following passage of another inscription: "If my successor shall honour my memory, &c., may Ashur cause all nations to bow down before his throne!" 'lirtadu-su' may he bow them down. From the same root comes 'ardut' homage paid to the sovereign, prostration on the ground before him.

#### Fourth Column.

- Line 6. Perhaps diseases are spoken of: 'la athza' may mean which will never depart, from IN abire.
- Line 7. 'lishkum' may she smite. But perhaps the word should be 'lishabba.'
  - 'daba' is, I think, the Hebrew INT 'dab' morbus (Ges. 228), from root 'dab' tabescere, to waste away. Perhaps the Latin tabes is etymologically connected with the Hebrew 'daba.'
  - 'shirka' perhaps means rottenness, from DD 'sherek' in its second meaning, as given by Buxtorf, p. 1550, putresco. He gives several examples, as, for instance, 'kisa shirika' rotten wood.
- Line 8. 'liratsa' may be solvat, from 'ratsah' הצה solvere.
- Line 11. 'lirkitza' fulmina mittat, from 'rikitz' fulmen.
- Line 12 is obscure. I think we may read >> \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ a goddess, and view it as the singular of 'clisut' goddesses.
  - 'Adan' or 'idan' is to give, see Col. I. line 17.
  - 'tapli' may be Hebrew 'tapal' אבר (Ges. 1065) carmen sacrum, precatio, deprecatio. Derived from לשם to pray (Ges. 823). Buxtorf has a great deal about the 'tapli' or 'tephili' as he calls them (p. 1744). They seem to have been prayers used as charms.
  - 'kallita' curses, from קללת 'kallita' maledictio (Ges. 893), which is from קלל maledicere. 'Adan tapli kallita' giver of prayer charms and maledictions.
- Line 13. 'bukasta' may be another pronunciation of 'bukarta' cows.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Perhaps however this is the rabbinical word Silik 'the end.'—See Buxtorr, p. 1492.

In modern Arabic a cow is 'bukar,' cows 'bukar' merely altering the accent (Wilkinson's "Egypt"). So in Hebrew 'bukar' a cow, is both singular and plural (Gesenius), and probably they distinguished them by the accent, although this we do not know.

'lishmukh' may she make dry, from נמק 'tsemukh' or 'shemukh' to dry (Ges. 867).

Line 14. 'shira birita' powerful charms. 'Shir' www signifies in Hebrew both a song and a chain. Therefore no word can be more suited to express a magical incantation producing paralysis or loss of strength. It is the καταδεσμος of the Greeks, a magic tie or knot: a bewitching thereby.

'birita' strong. This word is very often an epithet of chains or fetters.

Line 15. 'likabbir' may she bind, חבר 'kabar' colligavit (Ges. 317). He adds vinxit: arte quadam magica.

Line 17. These seem to be diseases, produced by the anger of the gods. 'tsuga' compare Syriac 'tsuk' blindness (Castelli, 754).

'nibrita' is perhaps connected with Syriac 'nebresh' inflammatio, ardor, &c. (Castelli, 533).

Line 18. 'lishkun' may he smite, the same as 'lishkum.'

Line 19. In the inscription of Tiglath Pileser and several others, we find imprecations hurled by one monarch against another, which have a certain majesty and dignity. In the minor class of inscriptions, of which this one is an example, there are also imprecations against evil-doers, but only such evils are prophesied as can by possibility befall a private indivi-He is threatened, for instance, with the loss of his crops and flocks, and perhaps with bodily diseases, imprisonment, and slavery. The sun shall scorch up his seeds, and the lightning shall blast his fields. Sometimes the mischief descends lower, and is more like modern witchcraft when the fowls and cattle of a farmer are bewitched. Something of that sort was, I think, intended in this line. First wo have the word [1] 'shal' female. Then [2] 'kharrip' incubation. This is another pronunciation of the word 'rakip' רחפ (Ges. 934), which is the standard word in Hebrew, and especially in Syriac, for incubation (incubuit pullis: fovit pullos), and also for genial warmth and heat of any kind. The next word is 'ibishat,' and [3] 'bisha' is an egg ביצה (Ges. 142). And I think this is etymologically connected with the verb בקע 'bikha' to hatch eggs (Ges. 168), who renders it ovis incubuit et pullos exclusit. Therefore, putting these three words together, I was led to the conclusion that the curse contained in this line must be levelled against the poultry-yard of the unfortunate wrong-doer. In that case, the remaining unknown word 'battut' must be some kind of domestic fowl, as hens, ducks, geese, &c. I therefore sought for this word in the lexicons, without much hope of finding it; but I found that Castelli in his Lexicon (p. 91) gives the Syriac word 'Batta' a duck. Unless this is a purely accidental coincidence, which is unlikely, I think it confirms the translation given in the text.

- Line 23. 'zaburu' collected together אבר (Ges. 853). The collective anger of all the gods above-named is now threatened on transgressors.
  - 'arrat,' plural of 'arra' a curse, Greek apa (according to Ges. 101), which etymology seems highly probable.
  - 'napsuri,' passive of 'pasur' פשר (Ges. 846), which means to dissolve or remove mysteries or supernatural terrors. The 'pasura' was the interpreter of dreams, and could doubtless exorcise charms and evil spirits.
- Line 24. 'silikta' water courses, Heb. שלח ductus aquæ. 'liruru' from 'arar' לוד to curse.
- Line 25. 'libbussu,' from 'ebesh' VIV to burn up (Ges. 734). This verb occurs only once in the Old Testament, viz., Joel i. 17, but is there used precisely in this sense, of the sun burning up the seed sown in the field.
  - 'zir.' This word contains a double meaning: (1) may the gods burn up his seed and destroy his harvest! (2) may they destroy his seed (meaning his race)! This latter imprecation occurs in many other inscriptions.

Additional Note to Col. I. l. 20.—'Ana ashkuri larashi' for an indestructible record. A more satisfactory analysis can be given of this passage. The verb 'arash' not means to destroy (Ges. 286). Hence 'la arash,' and by contraction 'larash' indestructible.

I will now add M. Oppert's translation (dated May, 1856) from his "Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens," p. 40:—

Nous possédons encore beaucoup de documents Assyriens et Babyloniens qui contiennent des résultats géodésiques. Parmi ces documents, un des plus curieux est le "caillou de Michaux," conservé à la Bibliothèque Impériale, et dont nous donnons mainteuant la

Des études ultérieures rectifieront traduction presque complète. nécessairement des erreurs de détail inévitables; mais le sens général est certain dès à présent.

#### TRADUCTION DU CAILLOU DE MICHAUX.

[ Publice dans le " Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athenœum Français," Mai, 1856.]

#### Première Colonne.

"Vingt et quarante soixantièmes (c'est le chiffre de l'homme de l'art), en grandes mesures agraires, prises dans la propriété de K . . 1, dans le circuit de la ville de Kar-Nabou, sur le fleuve de Mi-Kaldan (Gyndès2). Voici la table du relèvement :

"Trois stades doubles regardant l'est, du côté de la ville de

Khoudad.

- "Trois stades doubles regardant l'ouest, touchant au champ de Touna.
  - "Un stade, 54 pas, regardant le sud, touchant au champ de K..

"Un stade, 54 pas, regardant le nord, touchant au champ de K . .

"Siroussour", fils de K..., a donné ce terrain, en éternelle propriété, à Hisr-Sarginaït, sa fille, la fiancée de Tab-achap-Mardouk, fils de In-haram-ichib<sup>6</sup> (suit l'emploi), et Tab-achap-Mardouk, fils de In-haram-ichib (suit l'emploi), a, en souvenir ineffaçable, commémoré la grace des grands dieux et du dieu Sir dans cette inscription."

## Seconde Colonne.

"...... dans ses districts, dans les frères et les fils de sa tribu, amitié et facilité des relations, affection du maître et justice. celui qui attaque la propriété de K.. qui la dévaste et qui l'afflige,

1 Ce nom n'est pas encore déchiffré.

<sup>2</sup> C'est le Diala d'aujourd'hui; en effet la pierre a été trouvée non loin du site

de Ctésiphon.

3 "Sir protége." Le caractère ➤► dérivé de la forme ancienne ¥ est un signe ideographique qui signific 'Dien' et 'ctoile.' C'est de l'image d'une étoile que provient le signe archaïque; ce caractère a, en outre, la valeur syllabique 'au.' Mais quand il sert de déterminatif à un nom de dieu qui entre dans un nom propre, il ne se prononce pas.

4 " La Khorsabadienne."

5 " Propice est l'augure de Mérodach."

6 "Il est assis dans la pyramide."

7 Co passage, quoique bien conservé, est très-obscur.

qui en détruit les édifices, qui tente d'abattre cette table et de dépeupler ce district, que cette table le terrifie. Car le donataire et le donateur ont invoqué le dieu, ont déclaré la guerre à la méchanceté, ont amené devant leur maître les gens de leur canton et de leur propriété, ont renouvelé leurs vœux déjà accomplis, et ont placé au milieu cette table avec le relèvement. Ils ont prononcé et . . . la malédiction terrible inscrite sur cette pierre dont l'efficacité est indubitable, ont commandé ces images ? contre lesquelles la révolte est impossible, et cet écrit qu'on ne peut changer, et ont fait graver l'inscription."

#### Troisième Colonne.

- "Ils retireront à cet homme l'eau, ils le feront agiter par les vents, ils le cacheront dans la terre, il le brûleront dans le feu. Ils le dépouilleront, ils le renverront dans l'exil, ils le placeront dans un endroit où il ne peut vivre.
- "Que Oannès, Bel-Dagon, Nisroch, et la souveraine des dieux, le couvrent de honte entièrement, qu'ils dépeuplent son district, qu'ils détruisent sa race.
- "Que Mérodach, le grand maître, lui qui est mon roi, l'enchaîne dans des liens indéchirables.
- "Que le Soleil, le grand arbitre du ciel et de la terre, juge selon la mesure de sa justice : qu'il le surprenne en flagrant délit.
- "Que Sin (Lunus), Nannarou, qui habite les cieux des images, le puissant agitateur le frappe de fatigue dans la saison des Hyades : qu'il le fasse trembler de froid, à l'extrémité de sa ville, dans la saison du Capricorne.
- "Que Istar, la souveraine du ciel et de la terre, excite à la rapine (?) le dieu et le roi ; qu'elle entraîne à sa destruction ses ennèmis (?)"

## Quatrième Colonne.

- "Que Ninip, rejeton du Zodiaque, fils de Bel-Dagon le Suprême, enlève les habitants de son district et de son canton.
- "Que Nana, la grande décsse, l'épouse du soleil hyperboréen, ôte à ses fruits leur goût et leur parfum : qu'elle noie dans les pluies son coucher et son lever.
- "Que Hou ( $\Lambda$ o), le grand gardien du ciel et de la terre, le fils d'Oannès, inonde son district.

<sup>1</sup> La signification n'est pas du tout prouvée.

"Que les déesses . . . . . . détruisent sa primogéniture, qu'elles écoutent le chant de la sorcellerio, qu'elles énervent ses animaux.

"Que Nebe, l'intelligence suprême...assliction et terreur..., qu'il pousse sa femme vers son déshonneur qu'il ne pourra êter (?).

"Et que les grands dieux dont les noms ne sout pas contenus dans cette inscription, le frappent d'une malédiction dont rien ne pourra le relever; qu'ils dispersent sa race jusqu'à la fin de jours."

Le résultat de l'arpentage est facile à vérifier, et en réalité nous voyons que la confirmation que nous fournissent les chiffres est la plus incontestable de toutes. La terre de Siroussour présente un rectangle dont deux côtés ent 6 stades, et les deux autres 1 stade, 54 pas, c'est-à-dire 279 pas de longueur. Le contenu sera donc de 6 × 225 × 9 × 31 pas carrés. Pour exprimer cette surface en grandes mesures agraires équivalant à un carré de 360 pieds ou 135 pas de côté, il faut diviser le produit par 135². Nous aurons donc

$$\frac{6 \times 225 \times 9 \times 31}{135^{2}} = \frac{62}{3} = 20\frac{2}{3}$$

La propriété foncière, dont le remarquable monument de la Bibliothèque Impériale nous a conservé le souvenir, s'étendait sur le fleuve qui coule du nord au sud; elle formait un rectangle de 1,134 et 234 mètres de côté, et sa surface était de 26°, 57.

## No. III.—THE INSCRIPTION OF BELLINO.

The second secon

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In the year 1856 I printed, not for publication but for private distribution, a few pages entitled "Assyrian Texts Translated," of which I did myself the honour to present a copy to the Royal Asiatic Society. It commenced by a translation of Bellino's Cylinder, as represented at plate 63 of the first volume of inscriptions published by the British

¹ Monogramme encore à expliquer. La forme du précatif à la troisième personne du pluriel, au féminin, nous démontre qu'il s'agit ici de plusieurs déesses. Quant au dieu Hou que les Grees expriment  $A\dot{\omega}$ , et qu'ils interprétent par  $\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $\phi\ddot{\omega}_{c}$  roprèr, la lumière intelligible, il est nommé nantar "le gardien," et il préserve la terre du feu et des eaux. Dans cette qualité, il préside à la construction des canaux.

Museum, in several parts of which, however, the cuneiform signs are very incorrectly and confusedly represented. Most of these imperfect parts I omitted, though of some I attempted a translation.

Some time after printing this archæological essay, I met with an engraving of the Bellino Inscription published many years ago by Grotefend, from a fac-simile made by Bellino himself, which he had presented to Grotefend. And upon consulting this I found to my surprise that many of the passages which I had rejected as obscure, were legible and perfectly clear. Had I known of this precious fac-simile sooner, I should of course have consulted it before printing my translation. But who could have supposed that a copy of any inscription, made and published so many years ago, would be so much superior to the one published by the British Museum?

I look upon this fac-simile made by Bellino, and another which he made of a cylinder now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart. as the most wonderful instance of patient accuracy which is to be found in the whole range of archæological science. When I consider that the language was wholly unknown to him, and the apparent confusion and crowding of the minute strokes which constitute the Cunciform signs, and that they are written on a curved surface, to which the application of tracing paper must be difficult, it is marvellous to see with what fidelity they are all represented.

Very great credit must also be awarded to Grotefend for the accurate manner in which he has caused his friend's fac-similes to be engraved on copper. And indeed I think this was the greatest service which that painstaking savant ever rendered to the science of Archæology.

This cylinder contains the annals of the first two years of the reign of Sennacherib. Though written for the most part perspicuously, it contains some difficult passages. This translation, therefore, perhaps requires to be elucidated by additional notes, which I will take another opportunity of presenting to the Society.

### THE ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB.

Sennacherib the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king for evermore, the illustrious ruler, the servant of the great gods . . . . . the restorer of works which had gone to decay, the embellisher of public buildings, the noble here, the strong warrier.

the first of kings, the great punisher of unbelievers, who are breakers of the holy ordinances. Ashur the great Lord has given to me a kingdom that passeth not away. Over all the inhabitants of every place I have exalted my powerful arms.

At the beginning of my reign I destroyed the armies of Mcrodach Baladan, king of Karduniash, and of his allies the Susians, in the plain of the city of Cush. In the midst of that battle he quitted his army and fled alone to the city of Gutz-Umman, and from thence to the country between the rivers Agammi and Apparati. His bare life he saved. But all his chariots, waggons, horses, mares, mules, and camels he abandoned in the shock of battle, and I captured them. To his palace in Babylon proudly I ascended. I opened his treasurehouse. Gold and silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, goods and valuables to an immense amount, his wife, the female inhabitants of his palace, his chief warriors, the standard bearers who stood in front of each division of his army, and all the chief personages of his Court I carried off and distributed them as a spoil. Then I marched after him to the city of Gutz-Umman, and from thence I sent my cavalry to search for him between the rivers Agammi and Apparati. Five days they rode about rapidly, but his hiding place was not discovered. In the name of Ashur, my lord, 89 large cities and royal residences of the land of Chaldea, and 820 smaller towns I took and destroyed, and carried off their spoil. The workmen, both Aramæans and Chaldmans who dwelt in the cities of Erech, Belus, Cush, Karrishun, and Tigga, and even the princes of those cities who had been guilty of rebellion, I carried away and distributed them as a spoil.

The man Belib, son of a nobleman in the city of Suanna, who had been educated like a gallant youth in my palace, I set over them and made him king of Leshan and Akkadi.

In my return from Babylon, I subdued and captured the following rebellious tribes, viz.:

The Tumuna, Rikiku, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Maliku, Gurumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhua, Bukudu, Kamranu, Hagaranu, Nabatu, and Lihutahu (Aramoans all of them, and rebels).

208,000 persons, male and female; 7,200 horses, mares, and mules; 5,200 camels, 20,100 oxen, and 800,600 sheep—a vast spoil—I carried off to Assyria.

<sup>1</sup> This long list is exactly the same on the Taylor Cylinder. It therefore deserves great confidence as a synopsis of the Aramean tribes near Babylon.

In my first year, from the man "Nebo, lord of names," Chief of Ararat, gold and silver, large logs of meshukanni wood, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep, his great tribute I received.

The people of Kishmi, who were enemies and heretics, and for a long time had refused to bow down to my yoke, I destroyed with my arms. Not one soul escaped. That city I built again. One bull, 10 sheep, 10....., and 20 animals called "strong heads" (perhaps buffaloes), to the gods of Assyria, my lords, I offered as a sacrifice.

In my second year, Ashur, my lord, giving me confidence, against the Bisi and Yassubi-galla, enemies and heretics, who from old time unto the kings, my fathers, had never submitted, I went in hostile array. In the thick forests and in the hilly districts I rode on horseback (for I had left my two-horse chariot in the plains below). But in dangerous places I alighted on my feet, and then I climbed like a mountain goat. The city of Beth Kilamzakh, their stronghold, I took and destroyed. The inhabitants, small and great, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, from within it I drove away, and distributed them as a spoil. The smaller towns without number I overthrew and reduced them to ruins. I burned an immense building, which was the repository of their wealth, and I despoiled it of its treasures.

Once more that city of Beth Kilamzakh I erected into a strong fortress. I fortified it more strongly than it was in former days. People from the cities conquered by me, within it I placed to dwell.

The men of the Bisi and Yassubi-galla, who had fled from my arms, I drove down from the hills they had fled to, and in the city Kar-Thisbe and Beth-Kubitti I caused them to dwell. In the hands of my secretaries, who were noblemen of the city Arrapkha, I distributed them.

A stone tablet I made. I inscribed on it the tribute due to me which I imposed upon them, and I erected it in the midst of the city.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot, and I marched straight before me to the land of Illipi. Ispabara, their king, abandoned his city and his treasure-house, and fled to a distance; I swept over all his land like a great whirlwind. The cities of Marupishti and Akkupardu, his royal cities, and 34 other large cities, beside smaller towns of that province beyond all number, I destroyed and burnt them with fire. I cut down their trees, and I spread terror over all the land. The whole country of Illipi I divided into four parts. The inhabitants, small and great, male and female, horses,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The preceding events occurred in the beginning of his reign, which was accounted a portion of the last year of the reign of Sargon his predecessor.

mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, abundantly I carried away, and I divided them among my subjects of the higher classes. The great cities of Sisirta and Kukunli, with the smaller towns in their neighbourhood, and also the whole province of Beth-Barrua, I cut off from his dominions and added them unto the empire of Assyria. I chose the city of Ilatzash to be the royal city and the metropolis of this new province; I abolished its former name. I gave it the name of the City of Sennacherib.

During my return: of the distant Medians who, in the days of my fathers, no one ever heard the name of their countries, I received their great tribute, and I caused them to bow down to the yoke of my majesty.

Now to speak of Niniveh the great city, the city which especially adores Ishtar, although every kind of worship of gods and goddesses is celebrated within it.

Its timibel<sup>1</sup> (which was destined to endure for ever) the men of old time sculptured with the figure of a dove, and they raised the buildings of the city in a pleasant place. Jewels of all sorts, the tribute of many nations, and treasures of every kind, were poured abundantly within it. And the kings of old time, my fathers, who went before me, who reigned over the land of Ashur, and governed the city of Bel<sup>2</sup>.

Received from their subject kings of the four nations countless gifts and tributes which they treasured up within it.

Yet not one among them all, either began or finished a palace within the city, worthy to hold his royal throne, or suited to be his pleasant dwelling-place.

And as to the good government (or health) of their flock [i.e. their people], and the bringing of streams of clear water and overflowing fountains into the city: they neither resolved in their hearts to do so, nor did they weary themselves by undertaking that labour.

Then I, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, determined in my heart, by the will of the gods, the completion of this work. Multitudes I brought away of workmen from the land of Chaldea. And the men of Aramæa, Manna, Kue, and Kilakki, who had refused to bow down to the yoke, I carried away as slaves, and compelled them to make bricks. With the trees which I cut down in the land of Chaldea I prepared their ....., and by the labour of the foreign soldiers

<sup>2</sup> Niniveh.

Timibel or timin, the clay cylinder placed in the foundations of a building, and accounted very sacred. Often written timibelna or timinna.

whom I had made prisoners of war, I caused them to be brought to the spot in order to accomplish this work.

The Old Palace, whose dimensions were 360 half-cubits fronting the façade of the Great Tower, 80 half-cubits fronting the handsome building of the Temple of Ishtar, 134 half-cubits fronting the handsemo building of the Temple of Bar-Muri, and 95 half-cubits [in the remaining direction], which the kings, my fathers, who went before me, began to build for their royal residence (but had never finished it). And also the main Canal, lined with brickwork, which in four (?) streams irrigated the central gardens of the city, was entirely ruined. The beautiful ki trees which grew beside it, had all been cut down for firowood. From extreme old age, the walls of the palace were split and rent. Its base was traversed by cracks, and its foundations by wide fissures. And the place of its timibel was lost or destroyed. This old palace I pulled down the whole of it.

The water of the main Canal had been dried up by the heat of the sun during sixteen years. Its springs were wholly cut off from it.

But among the rocks I found a rivulet, which, falling down the mountains and over the lofty crags, unites itself with the waters of the river Sima. With these waters, which I led away, I replenished the canal very copiously.

The New Palace was of 1,700 full measures in length, and 162 in breadth, up towards the North.

Of 217 full measures, in its Central part. And of 386 full measures, down towards the South, and fronting towards the river Tigris. I completed its mound, and I measured the measure.

On a high festival, and during the worship of the people, I solemnly dedicated its timibel. With very large stones I fenced it around, and I fortified its place of concealment.

The written records of my own name I inscribed to the length of 160 tibki<sup>3</sup> upon sculptured tablets within it. But the lower part at the bottom of the wall I left uninscribed.

- 1 Beth Namari. The word occurs twice consecutively.
- <sup>2</sup> The sense is here truncated; the scribe, not having room for more in the line, omitted the remainder, which probably stated what building was opposite the fourth side of the palace.
- <sup>3</sup> Tibki is the plural of tibik, in Hebrew tipik  $\square DD$ , a well-known measure. Gesenius explains it manus expansa: palma. It comes from the verb  $\square DD$  to stretch out. I think it was a measure of nine inches, the full stretch of the fingers,  $\sigma\pi\iota\theta\alpha\mu\eta$  in Greek. If so, Sennacherib's own inscriptions covered 120 feet of wall. But this seems too little. On the other hand, if we take it to mean a full stretch of the arms  $(o\rho\gamma\nu\iota\alpha)$  of the Greeks, from  $o\rho\epsilon\gamma\iota\nu$  or six feet, the sculptures must have extended over 960 feet, which seems too much.
  - 4 Or, I left to the last (akhralik).

I brought away many sculptures from the old building: and 20 tibki in length were preserved of the records of the late sovereign (?) So that I collected (or displayed) 180 tibki altogether. I raised its summit higher than it was in former days. Beyond the measure of the former palace I enlarged it, and I spread out and widened its buildings (?) A grand suite of seven halls or chambers, one of which was wainscoted with ivory, the others with precious woods, called dan wood, ku wood, meshukanni, cedar, shurnish, and butani; for my royal apartments I constructed within it.

With fine shar trees grown in the lower part of Mount Hermen, which all carpenters who are skilled in the construction of wells call the very best trees which are to be had in the country, or in Chaldwa either, I constructed their ita. And I made clear wells in places of the plain, more than forty in number, and having excavated them thoroughly, I gave them to the people of Niniveh, to be their own property for ever. As to the wells which were supplied with water brought from the high district of Kitsir to the plain of Niniveh in pipes, I made a change in them. I cut off that supply. But I brought a stream of perennially flowing waters the distance of half a kasbu², down from the brook Kutzurra, and I brought it into those wells, so that I filled them completely.

Of Niniveh, my royal city, I enlarged all the buildings. Of its streets I renovated the old ones, and the narrow ones I widened, and I made the city as brilliant as the sun.

In future days, under the kings, my sons, whom Ashur shall calls to the sovereignty over this land and people; when this palace shall grow old and decay, the man who shall restore its ornaments, who shall read aloud the written record of my name, who shall make a stone altar and sacrifice a male victim, and shall then replace it in its place—Ashur will hear and accept his prayers.

THE COLOPHON.—The number of the lines is sixty-three.

In the seventh month is the birth-day (or annual festival) of the man Nebo-tzu, who dwells in the city of Zuzaban'.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a wooden casing for the interior of wells, which would be necessary in a sandy soil. And the *shar* trees, to resist the wet for a long time, must have been of the resinous *pine* genus.

<sup>2</sup> One hour's walking distance, or four miles.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "shall name their name."

<sup>4</sup> The object of stating the number of the lines of writing was in order that no part of it should be fraudulently erased. In this instance, indeed, there could have been no motive for such a fraud. But the scribes had probably got into

#### TRANSCRIPTION INTO ROMAN CHARACTERS.

[Many of the Assyrian words are expressed by symbols, and it is uncertain how they were pronounced. Some of these I have transcribed by Latin words, and placed them in a parenthesis.]

- LXIII mikal mishiri. Arkhi sibuti limmu Y Nebo-tzu anshi sha ir Zuzaban.
- 2. Senakuirba sar rab, sar dannu, sar Ashur-ki, sar la shanan, ribitu namdanu, pata ili rabi:
- 3. natsir ikti rahim mishari, epish utzati alik ganaki, tsakiru damgati,
- 4. itlu buli, zikaru gardu, asharaddan malki, rabbu lahit la magiri mushipriku zamani.
- Ashur bilu rabu sarut la shanan weshatlima annima. Eli gimir asib pa shalki wesarba eskuti-ya.
- 6. In resh sarti-ya, sha | Marduk-bal-adanna sar Karduniash ad ummanati Nuvaki in tamirti Kush-ki ashtakan sisi-su.
- 7. In kabal takhari suatu etzib killat-zu, edish ipparsidu, ana ir Gutzummani innabit, kireb (nari) Agammi u Apparati erumma napishtu ekhir.
- 8. (Rakabi) sumbi (shatra) susi (.....) gammali u parri, sha in yekrup takhazi wemashiru, iksuda suti-ya.
- 9. Ana bit-rab-su sha kireb Babel-ki khadish erumma : aptiu beth nitzirti-su: khurassi, kaspa: hunut khurassi kaspa: agartu sutaksu, shasu, shaga, nitsirtu kabittu;
- 10. shallat-zu; shal (.....) beth-rab-su; (nisi) kallati; (nisi) nishza, ash pani sikhirti ummani malvasu; namtap-billutu bit-rab, weshaza-amma, shallatish amnu.

a habit of mentioning the extent of the writing. The singular nature of the concluding phrase, which is quite unconnected with the king's annals, and only concerns a private individual, I have already endeavoured to explain in the notes which accompanied my translation of the inscription of Tiglath Pileser presented to the Society in 1857. These clay cylinders, being well written and convenient to read, were probably rather expensive to prepare; and they seem to have been frequently presented, doubtless along with many other objects, as birthday presents to various individuals, for which reason they were inscribed with their names and titles when they had any, as "Prefect of the city of Karkamish," "Prefect of the city of Lakhivi," and the day of the month which was their birthday, is mentioned.

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- Ashbitu arka-su ana ir Gutzummani. Mutakitsi-ya ana kireb (nari) Agammi u Apparati wemahiru. W tami iparunu, val innamir ashar-su.
- 12. In emuk Ashur bel-ya LXXXIX (ir) dannuti bit sarini sha mat Kuldi, u DCCCXX (ir) tari sha limiti-sun, almi aksut ashlula shallat-zun.
- 13. Shimbi Aramu u Kaldu sha kireb (*Kabal?*) ki, Bil-ki, Kush-ki, Kharrishunu-ki, Tigga-ki, adi (*principes urbium*) bel-khiddi weshaza-amma, shallatish amnu.
- 14. Y Beleb tar anshi mamukut as dakhu Suanna-ki, sha kima mirani zakri kireb bit-rab-ya irbu, ana sarut 🔭 Leshan-ki u Akkad-ki ashtakan eli-sun.
- 15. In tayarti-ya (gentem) Tuhumi, &c. [nomina tribuum vide in versione Anglica].
- 16. [multa nomina tribuum] ..... Aramu la-kansu belkharish aksut.
- 17. (208,000 homines) zikru u shal; 7,200 shatra; susi; (.....); gammali; ga; 800,600 hukludio; shallatu kabittu ashlula anakireb Ashur-ki.
- 18. In mitik girri-ya, sha Y Nebo-bel-mu kipi (*ir*) Khararat, khurassi, kaspa, itz mishukkanni rabi, (....), gammali, ga, u hukludi, tamarta-su kabittu amkhar,
- 19. Bakhulati ir Khismi (yabu) aksu, sha valtu valla ana niri-ya la iknusu, in esku wewekku. Napishtu val etzib.
- 20. Nagu suatu ana sansuti ashbit. I ga, X lu, X (.....), XX kali-marishati-su ana ili Ashur-ki, bili-ya, hukkin ebriu.
- 21. In (shanie) girri-ya, Ashur belni wetakkil annima, ana A Bisi u Yatsubi-gallaya (yabi) aksi, sha valtu valla ana sarin abut-ya la iknusu, lu-allik.
- Kireb karshani zakruti, asib namratsi, in shatra aredu, rakab nirya in tikkati weshassi. Ashru rusuku in nir-ya rimanish attakhiz.
- 23. Ir Beth-Kilamzakh, ir dannuti-sun, almi aksut; (nisi) tari rabi, shatra, susi, ga, u hukludi, valtu girbi-su weshaza-amma shallatish amnu.

- 24. Iri-sun tari, sha niba la yeshu, abbul aggur weshasib karmi. Beth gazab mutari tuzirti-sun in (flammis) akmu; diri-su weshali.
- 25. Wetaru ir Beth-Kilamzakh suatu ana birtuti ashbit. Eli sha tami pani wedannina eli (kishir?). Nisi mati kishitti sut-ya as sibbi weshasib.
- 26. Nisi A Bisi u Yatsubi-gallaya sha lapan eskuti-ya ipparsidu valtu kireb mati wesharidu; in ir Khispi, ir Beth-Kubitti wesharsib,
- 27. in (idi) sutrish-ya bel-nam ir Arrapakha amnu sunuti. Abna naepa weshapshu, litu kishitti suti sha eli-sun ashtakkan, tsirus-su weshashdiru, as girbi ir valbit.
- 28. Pan niri-ya wetaru, ana Illipi ashzabit karranu illamu-ya. Ispabara sar-sun ir-sib-su dannuti beth-nitzirti-su wemashiru, ana rukiti innabit.
- 29. Gimri mat-su (shakti?) kima im kabit ashkup. Ir Marupishti ir Akkupardu iri beth-sarti-ɛu, adi XXXIV iri dannuti u iri tari sha limiti-sun, sha niba la yeshu,
- 30. abbul, aggur, in (flammis) akmu. Etzi kar(rishi)-sun akshid ; eli agari-sun sissuti nakharrat atbuk. Tillipi ana kol gimri-sha, arbuta weshalik.
- 31. Nisi tari rabi vas u shal; shatra, susi, (.....), ga, u hukludi, laminam ashlula-amma, adi la basie weshalik sunuti.
- 32. Ir Sisirta, ir Kukunli, iri dannuti, adi iri tari sha limiti-sun:

  Beth-Barru-nagu ana gimirti-su, valtu kireb mati-su
  abratu, eli mitsir Ashur-ki weraddi.
- 33. Ir Ilitzash ana ir sarti u dannat nagie suatu ashbitu, sum-su makhra wenakkiru, ir Kar-Senakhirba attabi nibit-zu.
- 34. In tayarti-ya, sha 😭 Madaya rukuti sha in sarin abut-ya mamman la ishmu zigir matti-sun, mandata-sun kabitta amkhar. Ana niri belluti-ya weshaknitz-zunuti.
- 35. In tamisu, Ninua-ki makhatzu tsiru, ir naram Ishtar, sha karkar kududie ili u ishtaroth basu kireb-su,
- 36. timibelnu daru u duru-s zati, sha valtu valla itti sidhir burummi itzrat-zu isshidu, subu tzindu-su

- 37. ashru naklu . . . . . reshti-sha sutaksu lita nisiti gimir belludi nitsirti kum-sha, sutabulu kirel-su;
- 38. sha valtu valla sarin alikut makri abut-ya vallanu-ya billutu Ashur-ki ebusu, wemahiru bahu 💝 🛌 Bil,
- 39. u matti . . . . . la sibbati tikun malki kiprat arbahi imdanakkaru kireb-su:
- 40. yamu in sibbi-sun ana bit-rab girbi-su kummi ribit belluti-sha sukkhar subat tzulit-zu val ida sibbu-s, val ikzu-s.
- 41. Ana sutishur kutar, u takkiribati khario (mie) zakab tzippati, utzun-su val ibsiu, val ustabil karash-tzu.
- 42. Yaati Senakhirba sar 🌺 Ashur-ki epish miri suatu ki bilim ili in utzni-ya ebsiu. Kabitti upla-amma
- 43. tebshid \*\* Kaldi \*\* Aramu \*\* Mannaya \*\* Kuc u \*\* Kilakku sha ana niri-ya la iknusu, ashzukha-amma musikki, weshassi sunutim ilbinu libitti.
- 44. Api kupic sha kireb 🏠 Kaldi akshidu, appari-sun ukhuti in bakhulati nakiri kishitti suti-ya weshaldida ana epish miri-sha.
- 45. Bit-reb makritu sha 360 → hu vas, in kutsi zami beth-ziggurrat; 80 → hu shakki, in kutsi beth-namari beth-Ishtar; 134 → hu shakki, in kutsi beth-namari beth-Barmuri; 95 → hu shakki......
- 46. sha sarin alikut makri abut-ya ana rimiti belluti-sun weshapisu, la wenakkilu sita-sha:
- 47. (canalem) bilti agurat miru, sha in nali IV gigunie kabulti ir, huabbitu. Itz ki makki sun nakmuti wekallimu anna su:
- 48. u valtu tami tsiri dikhi bit-reb ibakhu. In adan-sha muli, in vassi-sha abbu weshipsu, weribbu timibel-sha.
- 49. bit-rab turra shatu ana sikhirti-sha agguru: sha (canalis) bilti ashrat-shavasti sanna abbuslu, weshatshir mutzu-sha.
- 50. kireb katiti ashur shalki, sha shiplanu gi(ri) elanish abni pili danni, itti (mie nari) Sima asib. Valtu mami weshala-amma nabalish wetar.
- 51. 1700 as shukli rebti vas: 162 as shukli rebti shakki, anta im Sidi: 217 as shukli rebti shakki, kabalti:

- 52. 386 as shukli rebti shakki, kita im irlu, yassadu nar Mastiggar, tala wemalli, amsukh misikta.
- Labarish tami, in adir kishati, timibel-su laenish ashdupat : pili rabbati ashuru-su weshashkir, wedannin subuk-su.
- 54. Mushiri sidhir sumi-ya 160 tibki tali kireb-su althuru; shiplanu in vassi-su etzib akralik.
- 55. Arkanu susku tali kabiti upla-amma, XX tibki tsir makri isutzibu: 180 tibki weshakki elanish.
- 56. Kaspa-su il sha as tami pani wesarbi: tsir misikti bit-reb makriti weraddiu weshandila sikta-s.
- 57. Bit-reb ka-amsi, itz dan, itz ku, itz meshukkanni, itz kinrat?, itz shurman bishli, u itz butani, bit-reb zakdi nur-ya, ana miship sarti-ya weshapisha kireb-su:
- 58. itz shar makku, tikut 🏠 Khamanu, sha gimir shimdi esha tsippati etzi ratlat mati u 🏠 Kaldi kireb-su karra-su, itasha ashkup:
- 59. ashsu zakab tsippati asib tamirti elin arpita-an ana tari Ninuaki bilku webulliku, weshagila panussun.
- 60. Ana birati takmuki valtu padi ir Kishri adi tamirti Ninua-ki . . . . . . in akzirlati weshattaru, weshatzir (nar) karru :
- 61. → kasbu ebkaru valtu kireb (nar) Kutzuru, mami daruti asharsha weshirda kireb tsippati shatina; weshabiba patti-sh.
- 62. Sha Ninua-ki ir belluti-ya subat-zu vasrabbi, ribati-su weshan labiriti, u tzukani vastadi: wenammir kima tami.
- 63. Ana arkut tami, in sarin tari-ya sha → Y Ashur ana ribitut (mati) u (nisi) inambu zigir-su: enu beth-rab shatu ilabbiru itnakhu,
- 64. Ankhut-sa luttish, mushiri sidhir sumi-ya likharu, (aram lapideam) libsu, vas lu (victimam) likki, ana ashri-su litar, Ashur ikribi-su ishimmi.

## OBSERVATIONS.

Line 1. 'mikal' the number of the lines: literally their force or strength.

'limmu' the festival or birthday.

- 'Nebo-tzu' i.e., Nebo is victorious. Sargon conquered a northern king whose name was Ashur-tzu, or Ashur is victorious. Another king had the name of San-tzu.
- For Nebo-tzu, Hincks reads Nabuliah, without giving his reasons (Trans. of R.I.A. for 1856, p. 36). But I find that in fact King Ashur-tzu is also called Ashur-liah in the same inscription, so that they were probably words of the same meaning.
- Line 2. The name of the god Sen or San forms the first syllable in 'Sennacherib.' But here, instead of the name of Sen we have 'Bel-tzu' Lord of Victory, which was one of his chief titles.
- Line 3. 'ganaki.' Perhaps read 'tabbut aki.'
- Line 5. This value of the sign 'bil' has not been hitherto recognised. It is also found frequently in the word 'pili' stones, of which see an example in 1. 50. 'sarut lashanan' the kingdom which doth not change, or doth not pass away. From 'shanan' to change, Hebrew NUW in Pi. TILL 'shanana' (Ges. 1025).
  - He hath given to me an eternal kingdom. Let not this Oriental hyperbole be thought too extravagant. In the 2nd chapter of Daniel, the astrologers and Chaldeans are summoned to the king's presence: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriac, O king! Live for even! Tell thy servants the dream!" (Daniel ii. 4.) This prayer or loyal wish, being quite uncalled for, shows that it was a mere customary phrase, a compliment to the king on approaching his presence. In another inscription the king asks of the gods to give him "their length of days," i.e., eternal life. In the Egyptian hieroglyphics the phrase is very common "We give him the length of days of the Sun, to rule over Egypt."
  - 'Eli gimir' over all, 'asib' the dwellers, 'pa shalki' in every place, 'wesarba' I have raised on high, 'kuti-ya' my arms. 'Kuti' is usually written 'eskuti.' It is doubtful whether the first syllable 'es' or 'ets' was sounded or not. It may be merely the symbol for wood and all wooden objects, for the 'kuti' were originally arrows.
- Line 6. The previous lines merely constitute the preamble. The annals begin at the 6th line.
  - 'Sha' of. This particle very often begins a sentence as it

does here, and until I understood this grammatical construction I found it very embarrassed. "Of Merodachbaladan I destroyed his army." So in line 18, "Of the chief of Ararat I received his great presents." In line 34, "Of the distant Medians I received their great tribute." In line 62, "Of Niniveh my royal city I greatly extended her buildings," &c. This grammatical construction is very common.

- Line 7. 'Etzib' he left or quitted. Hebrew Ity 'ezib' or 'etzib' (Ges. 750), to leave, relinquish, desert, dismiss. In this word FY & we find employed a very important Cunciform sign & 'tsib' which seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of Assyrian scholars. It is found also very frequently in the verb 'artsib' I raised or built up, viz., some great building. This is INF from DNI' ratsap' to join stones together as a mason does. In the Talmud to join anything together (Buxtorf's Lex. p. 2284). It also occurs in the word 'tzippati' overflowing wells (see line 41). This sign sometimes consists of four wedges ranged in a line, instead of three only.'
  - 'edish' alone, adverb, from 'ed' one; Chald. In pronounced 'hed' 'hid' 'ed' or 'id.' See Note to the Birs-Nimrud Inscription, col. I. line 2.
  - 'orumma' nude. "He saved bare life." In German, "er hat bloss das Leben errettet." From ערום 'erum' nudus (Ges. 797).
- Line 8. 'iksuda' I captured. 'There are many other words from the same root, as 'aksut' I took (sometimes I destroyed), 'kshatta' which is a verb of the same meaning, 'kashada' rictory, 'kishitti' spoil taken in battle, also acquired property, &c.
- Line 9. 'khadish' entirely. In Birs Nimrud, II. 18, we find 'khadish nablitzu' bless entirely !
  - 'erumma' nudavi, I stripped. But there is another verb 'erumma' viz., I ascended, from ארנה altum esse, surgere, &c., and I know not which verb is here intended.
  - 'aptiu' or 'aptim.' The sound of the last letter appears to float between u, v, m. A verb in the 1st person singular
- <sup>1</sup> Mr. Norris has since informed me that this Cuneiform sign for 'tsib' has been long known to him. But I believe it is not in any of the published alphabets, and in printing this paper a new type had to be cut for it.

has this letter u very frequently added to it. I believe it is an ancient form of mi or me, the pronoun of the first person.

'nitsirta' royal treasures, from 'tsir' a king, or the majesty of a king. When a monarch speaks of himself he says 'tsiriva' my majesty.

'shaga' valuables, probably from 'shaga' שנה magnus.

Line 10. 'kallati' warriors, probably from 'kal' an army, חל

'nishza' or 'nishsha' from 'nish' a royal standard, Heb. D. At first I took (\formalfont for the numeral twenty-four, and translated "the 24 leaders or generals who commanded all his army." But in this inscription four is represented by and not by \formalfont , see line 45.

Line 11. 'ashbit' I marched, written 'ashshabit' or 'ashzabit' in 1. 28. From NIX 'tsaba' or 'shaba' to march (Ges. 851), and thence an army on the march, or simply an army. 'Mutakhitsi' were choice soldiers or veterans inured to war, probably named from 'takhitz' battle.

'la innamir' was not found. Compare the words 'mari' visible, 'la mari' invisible, 'namar' and 'namri' very conspicuous, 'wenammir' I made it bright, 'namriri' bright light, splendour, &c. To this root belongs I think the present phrase 'la innamir,' literally it was not seen.

'Ashar' a place. Chald. 'athar' אתר

Line 13. 'belkhiddi' probably domini fraudis, i.e. fraudatores, peccatores, rebelles, from חידה fraus (Ges. 333). So when Sargon forgives a suppliant monarch he says, 'khidati-su' his frauds or his treasons . . . . . which were many, I pardoned. השטח peccatum, also gives a pretty good etymology of the word. And אטח 'khita' has the same meaning.

Line 14. This elevation of Belibus to the throne of Babylon is noticed by the classical writers. To Dr. Hincks belongs the merit, which is certainly considerable, of recognising the name in this passage.

'tar anshi mamukut' may be son of a man adorned with the 'amuk' or golden collar, like the Latin Torquatus. So that Belib was the son of a distinguished nobleman: and he "had been brought up in my palace like a gallant young man."

Line 16. 'la kansu' rebellious, not bowing down, from 'kanas' to bow

- down. Compare l. 19, 'la iknusu' they did not bow down. From hence is derived the common word 'weshaknis' I caused to bow down.
- 'bethkarish' or 'belkarish': the reading is not certain.
- Line 18. 'Nebo-bel-mu' means Nebo lord of names. In Babylonia we find a prince called 'Bel-mu-insha' or Bel gave the name.

  A son of Merodach-Baladan had a very similar name.
- Line 19. 'Khismi' appears to have been an island in the Persian Gulf.
  - 'yabu' or perhaps 'zairu' enemies: 'aksu' heretics.
  - 'ezib' or 'etzib' he escaped. This verb in its 'sha' conjugation becomes 'weshazib' or 'weshazib' he saved, which is very evidently the Hebrew verb 'shazib' אוש to save. This remark is important, since Gesenius (p. 992) offers no etymology of the verb 'shazib,' while the Assyrian language shows us that it is nothing else than the causative conjugation of 'ezib' אוש. Thus it is possible that one of these ancient languages may throw great light on the other.
- Line 20. 'kali-marishati-sun' their heads are strong. This is the name of the animal. 'Marish' a head. In other inscriptions we find 'marish-su akush' I cut off his head. As to the name of the animal being expressed by a sentence, we find a striking instance of the same in the epigraph of the Obelisk, where the king receives among other rare animals and valuable presents 'yabbati sha sunaya tsiri-shin' dromedaries whose humps are double.
  - 'hukkin' plural of M victima (Ges. 318), pronounced 'huk' in Assyrian.
  - 'cbriu' from הבר' dissecuit (Ges. 266), "I cut up the victims and distributed them to the priests of the gods."

    This verb הבר is used in grammar for dividing a word into its members or syllables; and in astrology of dividing the visible heavens into portions or sections (Buxtorf and Ges.)
  - 'cbriu' the final u is a sign of the 1st person singular.
  - He had slain all the old inhabitants, but before replacing them with new colonists it was necessary to purify the city of Khismi from the taint of heresy. Therefore he ordained such sacrifices to the gods of Assyria as were accustomed to be made at the commencement of a newly built city.
- Line 21. 'Yatsubi-gallaya.' The name of this tribe means the strong-bodied race, or the tall race: from נצט 'atsum' corpus (Ges. 788).

- 'yabi' may also be read 'zairi' enemies.
- Line 22. 'karshani' forests, Hebrow 'karsha' a forest אורשא (Ges. 376).
  - !zakruti' strong or thick. We find 'karshaui shakuti' in Tiglath Pileser, but this is perhaps a different word, and from 'shak' JD silva densa. 'Asib' may be translated places.
  - 'rakab nir-ya' my two horse chariot. 'Nir' is continually used for a yoke, and for a pair of anything. Here it means a chariot to which two horses are yoked; which the Romans called a biga.
  - 'tikkati' loca inferiora, Hebrew תחתי (Ges. 1054).
  - 'ashru' places, 'rusuku' dangerous.
  - 'in nir-ya' here means on my two feet, a very different senso from that in which 'nir-ya' occurred previously.
  - 'rimanish' like a 'rima' or mountain goat, otherwise called 'arma' in Assyrian, but 'arna' in Syriac, which is explained capra rupicola, and hircus sylvestris in Castelli, and is also the sign Capricorn in the zodiac. In Greek apva is a lamb, which can hardly be considered the same word, though the resemblance is singular.
  - 'attakhiz' I climbed? or perhaps dismounted from my horse, from 'takhat'
- Line 24. 'sha niba la yeshu' and 'sha nin la yeshu' are phrases that occur continually, meaning a vast number, but how great it was impossible to say. The analysis of the phrase is not yet clearly made out, it appears to be that no one knows. "I destroyed of small towns and villages a multitude that no one knows." Another explanation is that 'niba' means number or reckning: 'sha niba la yeshu' of which they kept no reckning.
  - 'gazab' used as a proposition means beyond: used as an adjective it means going beyond, surpassing, exceeding, vast, immense.
  - 'weshali' I carried off as a spoil, from 'shala' spoil, Hebrew שלל
- Line 25. 'wetaru' adverb, again, once more: probably from the root 'tur' to turn מור and חור (Ges. 388). This adverb, however, comes very near to the Chaldee הדר 'again (Buxtorf, 599).
  - 'eli kishir' on a rocky height or acropolis? But the reading of the text is here uncertain.

- Line 26. 'wesharsib' seems to be only a broader pronunciation of the usual verb 'weshasib' I located.
- Line 27. 'belnam' having a name, i. e. men of reputation or men of mark.
  - 'Arrapakha' the Arrapachitis regio of the Greeks.
  - 'litu' tribute (?), 'kishitti suti' due to me, literally 'the property of my hands.'
- Line 28. 'pan niri-ya wetaru' I turned round the front of my chariot.

  This is a very common phrase, implying that the war was finished and the king going home, or else going to attack some other nation. This phrase is always followed by a complete change of subject, and by the king departing in another direction.
  - 'wetaru' is here a verb, I turned round. Compare the Chaldeo 'hedar' reditus, reversio, remeatus (Buxt. p. 599).
  - 'ashzabit.' See line 11.
    - 'illamu-ya' before me; the same as 'illanu-ya' and 'vallanu-ya'
    - 'Ispabara' literally sceptre-bearer. But as 'bara' is an Indo-Germanic and not an Assyrian word, it is possible that 'Ispabara' (from 'asp' a horse) may mean the horseman; especially since 'asbara' a horseman, is found in the Persian translation of the Behistun Inscription. (See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x. p. 124.) This would indicate that the language of the land of Illipi was Indo-Germanic.
  - 'ir-sib-su' the city of his seat, or dwelling: or the city where he then dwelt.
- Line 29. Perhaps we may translate 'the whole of his broad dominions I swept like a whirlwind.' I am uncertain of the reading of the word which I have transcribed 'shakti.' We find 'weshakki' used in the sense of I enlarged a palace.
  - 'Im' the wind; when preceded by the divine sign  $\rightarrow \uparrow$  it means the god Im or YEM, who ruled the sky and the winds. He was both Æolus and Jupiter Tonans.
  - 'ashkup' I swept; from Hebrew DND 'shakap' to sweep.
    The Latin 'scopa' a broom, has the same origin.
  - 'limiti' agrees exactly with the Latin limes, limitis, a boundary or limit. Some other Latin words are found in Assyrian, as 'anna' for the year, 'agar' for a field, &c. which can hardly be casual resemblances.
- Line 30. 'eli agari-sun' over their fields, i.e. over their whole land.

- 'Agar' a field, Latin 'ager' Syriac 'akra' Hebrew 'akr' DN agricola.
- 'nakharrat atbuk' I spread terror. (We should perhaps read 'na' for 'sha' in the text.)
- 'Atbuk' I spread; from 'tebek' NDO to spread. Hence is derived the name of the measure called the 'tebek' (plural 'tibki'). It appears to have been a full stretch of the arms, or six feet.
- 'kol' may also be read 'pat.' Possibly the latter is correct, for I find elsewhere 'pa at' or 'pa et' for everyone, which if contracted or combined, would be read 'pat.'
- 'arbuta' quarters; from 'arba' four.
- 'weshalik' I divided into portions; from דולק 'shalik' or 'khalik' a part or portion.
- Line 31. Sheep are always called 'hukludi' in this inscription, whereas in Hebrew and Syriac the word ענלתא means calves. This circumstance is explained by Gesenius, p. 735, who shows that the word meant young animals of any kind.
  - 'la basie' not of low degree.
  - 'weshalik' I divided by lot the spoil. Hebrew ports, pars, portio, pars prada, prada ipsa (Ges. 345).
  - 'In tamisu.' This is a very common phrase; but as yet it remains unexplained. It certainly does not mean in his days, which would be the literal rendering of 'in tami su.' Nor does it mean in those days, for that would be 'in tami suatu.' It is remarkable that the phrase 'in tamisu' is almost always followed by a complete change of subject.
  - The sign Y— represents 'sib' as well as 'mi' therefore perhaps we should read 'in tasib-su' and not 'in tami-su.' 'In tasib-su' would mean to return from this, i.e. to change this subject. This would explain why the subject generally changes to another after this phrase. According to Gesenius (p. 1070), 'tasuba' is a returning, from the verb 'sub' to return.
    - 'basu' is an obscure word. Perhaps it comes from 'basar' which is sometimes used of divine worship, omitting the final r, for so we find both 'bukar' and 'buku' for libations. But a difficulty arises in this passage from our not knowing whether it means that the people of Ninivel worshipped Ishtar in conjunction with, or, on the contrary,

to the exclusion of all other gods and goddesses. If the latter is the true meaning, 'basu' may come from 'bazah' sprevit, contensit (Ges. 135).

Line 36. 'timibelnu' or 'timinnu.'

- 'daru u duru as zati' which was destined to last for ever and
- 'dar' and 'dur' (II and III) are both Hebrew words, meaning ævum, sæculum, æternitas. For instance, we read in Eccles. i. 4, 'dur alik u dur ba' one age passeth away and another age comes. And in many passages of Scripture we find 'dar u dar' for ever and ever; 'dur u dur' (the same); 'li dardar' (the same).
- 'sha valtu valla' (the men) of old time.
- 'itti' with, 'sidhir' a writing or inscription, 'burummi' of a dove, 'isshidu' they carved, 'itzrat-zu' its moulded clay. But the difficulty of this line as well as its importance requires a further examination. 'Itti' is generally the preposition with; but is often confounded in cuneiform writing with a substantive (of totally different origin) 'itti' signa. This is the plural of 'it' or 'itta,' in Chald. The 'at' or 'it,' in Syriac 'ata,' which closely agrees with the Latin signum in all its various meanings. Thus it is often used in Assyrian for military flags or standards, and for signum, prodigium, portentum, miraculum. Thus a king says, speaking of his enemies: 'ana itti akhata ittaklu' they trusted to the images of their false gods (or to the wonders and miracles worked by them), and so they ventured to give me battle. In this sense 'itti' is usually written E evidently showing it to be the plural of the substantive 'it' or 'ith.' When it is not so written, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it from the preposition 'itti' with, as in B.M. 13, 23, where the king describes his victory: "I took 1121 of his chariots; 'itti vasmani-su ekim-su' I captured them together with his camp," or elso we may translate the passage "I also captured the standards which were in his camp." But to the uncertainty attaching to the word 'itti' is to be added that of the word 'sidhir,' which may also be read 'lidan.' 'Lidan' are some kind of doves or pigeons, for in another inscription the king says, that he attacked his enemies with such fury that they dared not await the assault, but fled like 'lidan birds' to a place of safety. If, therefore, we render in this passage 'itti lidan' by signa columbarum, we shall obtain as its

meaning, that the original 'timin' or 'timibel' of the city of Niniveh was reported by tradition to have been moulded in the form of a dove, or to have had such a figure stamped or graven upon it—a thing by no means improbable, since the dove was the holy emblem of Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, the mythic founder of Niniveh. And it was believed that after her death she was changed into a dove. The white dove was not only held sacred in Syria (alba Palestino sancta columba Syro), but in all the East. The traditions respecting Ninus are strongly confirmed by a most remarkable passage in the annals of Sargon, who dedicated to him one of the gates of his palace: 'U Ninev mukin timibel ir-su in labar tami rukuti' And Ninev who laid the foundation stone of this city, in ancient days now long past!

- To return from this digression to the remaining words of line 36:
  'itzrat' from יצר opus fictile, especially vessels of clay made
  by a potter; also צ' is a potter.
- 'isshidu' they engraved, from עצד to engrave with a sharp tool. (See the Michaux Inscription, Col. I. lin. ult. 'isshat'). These words 'isshat,' 'isshidu,' are equally well derived from the Syriac verb און to cut. This verb, however, and שצי are cognate, and were probably originally the same.
- 'subu' probably from ישב collocavit.
- 'tsindu' compages, buildings put together, or joined together.
  Compare Ezra iv. 12. "They have set up the walls of
  Jerusalem, and joined the foundations." "Subu tsindu'
  they founded the joinings seems equivalent to this biblical
  phrase they joined the foundations.
- Line 37. 'ashru' place, from 'ashar' (see l. 11).
  - 'naklu' beautiful, splendid; hence adv. 'naklish.'
  - 'lita' tribute (?), 'nisiti' of men (?). In the Michaux Inscription, Col. II. 'nissuti.' Or perhaps 'nisiti' is very conspicuous, from 'nish' res conspicua, admiranda.
  - 'nitsirti' treasures. The sign which follows this word should be ket which may perhaps be read 'kum.' 'Nitsirti kum-sha' their . . . . . . treasures.
  - 'sutabulu' they poured forth. T conjugation of 'subul' to pour (Ges. 978). We frequently find 'subul mie' the flow of waters. 'Sutabulu kireb su' they poured into the city (rich tributes and offerings).
- Line 38, 'sha valtu valla sarin' and the kings of old time, 'alikut makri' who went before me, 'abut-ya' my fathers, 'vallanu-

- ya' before me, 'billutu ebusu' they reigned, literally regnum (Assyriæ) fecerunt. So 'sarrut itipsu' in the third line of the Behistun Inscription is regnaverunt.
- 'wemahiru' (and) they governed.
- 'bahu' a city. Also the district round a city. It is the Egyptian word 'baki' city (Tattam's Lexicon, p. 47), which the Greeks rendered by Βηχις in Αταρβηχις, city of Athor or Venus. It is also the Phonician of 'baki' a city (see Gesenius's Index of Phonician words). He gives two senses, namely urbs and vallis. In Hebrew it only means vallis (Ges. 168).
- Line 39. 'kiprat arbahi' the four regions. Either an ancient name for the countries bordering on the Euphrates and Tigris, or else it may mean the four quarters of the world; the whole world.
  - 'imdanakkaru' they treasured up; stored. T conjugation of 'makar' to put into a treasury.
- Line 40. 'yamu' no one, 'in sibbi sun' among them. This most important word 'yamu' nullus appears to have hitherto escaped the notice of Assyrian scholars, though it occurs rather frequently. For example, in Tiglath Pileser, I. 67, "SAR YAMU in takhari gat-zun la wesalti" no king ever subdued their armies in battle, ('salta' battle, 'gati' force or armed strength). Again, in Col. IV. 55 of the same inscription, Tiglath Pileser enters a most dangerous and difficult country of mountains, "sha in makra sar yamu sibba-sun la idu" which in former times no king ever entered among them. As to the origin of this word, as I have once or twice found it written 'yanu,' I think it may be connected with the Heb. אין 'ain' or 'ayan,' which means nihil, non, &c. &c. But another view may be taken, viz. that 'yamu' comes from אמ אמשה 'am' or 'yam' not. Example אמ אעשה I will not do [this thing] (Ges. 69).
  - 'in sibbi-sun' among them. So in the third line of the Behistun Inscription, 'VIII as sib zir-ya sarut itipsu' eight among my race were kings, or eight of them.
  - 'sukhar' precious, very often said of precious stones.
  - 'subat' dwelling.
  - 'val' neither, 'ida sibbus' for 'ida sibbu-su' entered into it (see the passage just quoted from Tiglath Pileser, "sibbasun la idu" they entered not into them). In the present passage 'la ida sibbu-su' is non inivit. I suppose this means

non inchoavit (hanc rem), and then it is added, 'val ikzus' neque terminavit, probably from קצה terminus, finis, for 'val ikzu-su.'

- 'ida' Heb. ערא or איז he went, came, entered, passed through, &c. &c. (Ges. 738).
- Line 41. 'sutishur' good government, good regulation of anything, as for example 'sutishur nisi' good government of men, 'sutishur mutzi mie' regulation or due repair of the water springs, &c.
  - 'kutar' הומר is a sheepfold. In Hebrew the king is frequently called רעה the shepherd (Ges. 942). Hence it seems a suitable continuation of the same metaphor to call his people his sheep, and his city his sheepfold. So in Homeric times the king was called Homera \(\lambda awv.\)
  - 'takkiribati' the introduction, or the bringing the water into the interior of the city, from 'kireb' the interior of anything.
  - 'karie' the canals or streams.
  - 'zakab' bright. Hebrew אום (Ges. 856).
  - 'tzippati' overflowing fountains or natural springs (Ges. 859).

    From 'tzup' Die to overflow. So in the Talmud we find 'mim tzipin' flowing waters. 'Tzippati' is written—

# ★ | | --| ( tzip-pa-a-ti

- 'utzun' pectora; vide Birs Nimrud, col. I. 5.
- 'ibsiu' they determined; 3rd person plural, but in the next line I determined, 1st person singular. The latter was probably pronounced differently, perhaps as 'ebsiu' or 'ebsiu'. Presumably from DDN 'ebs' or 'eps' terminum vel finem facere, terminare.
- 'val ustabil' they did not fatigue themselves (with the work).

  Hebrew ישמתבל 'ustabil' to be weary (Ges. 702). This is one of the conjugations of סבל portare onus, to do hard work.
- 'karash' the work of an artificer, from מרט (Ges. 375)
  'karash' an artificer of any kind: faber ferri, wris, lapidum, lignorum.
- Line 42. 'yaati' ego. 'In utzni-ya' in pectore meo.
  - 'epish' אפס terminare. It may possibly, however, be the usual verb עבש to work (Hebrew עבר)
  - 'bilima' a decree.
  - 'uplamma': 'upla' I brought, 'amma' away.
- Line 43. 'tebshid' workmen, from 'ebshid' work ('eibshat' in Birs Nimrud, II. 27), which is derived from way to work.

- 'ashsukha' I led them, 'amma' away.
- Line 44. 'akshidu' I cut down a tree: plural 'iksithu' they cut down.

  This seems to come from אין an axe. So the Greek afing is אין in Syriac, y being expressed by \( \xi\$ in Greek.
- Line 47. The sign for water or river with 'ti' added, means a canal.

  The next word seems to be 'bilti' principal.
  - ' kabulti ' the middle.
  - 'huabbitu' was destroyed, from 'abad' מבד to be lost, Hiph. האביר 'huabid' to destroy (Ges. 4).
  - 'nakmuti' a burning with fire, verbal noun from the common verb 'akmu' I burned.
  - 'wekallimu' they cut down with axes, from 'kalma' or 'kilma' an axe, hence 'likilmu' may they cut down! Another form of this word, 'kalaba' an axe, is very frequent in the phrase 'as kalabati anbar' (or 'almas') with axes of iron (the soldiers made a road through impervious forests).
  - 'anna su' years ago. I have little doubt that such is the meaning of this phrase. 'Anna' for years occurs very often, and appears to me to be the origin of the Latin annus. 'Anna su' means literally years were. So we find 'malki sun' they were kings, in the Behistun Inscription, and 'sar sut' rex qui erat olim in another inscription.
- Line 48. 'ibakhu' they were split, from בקע to split (Ges. 168).
  - 'adan' the foundation or base, ITH fundamentum (ædium) (Ges. 17).
  - 'vassi' foundations. This word occurs continually.
  - 'muli' fissures, rents, or hollow cavernous places, from Hebrew מחלה caverna, which is from חלל transfodit, vulneratus est, or solvit, aperuit, or destruxit. As the name of Noah is sometimes written merely בחלה so the word מחלה would sound 'molah' on the same principle.
  - 'weshipsu' they traversed. 'Sha' conjugation of 'pasach' IDD (Ges. 832) to pass through, or pass across anything. The final I having merged in the u of the plural verb, as 'imu' and 'innamu' from PD.
- Line 49. 'turra' antiquus, vel sæcularis, from 'dur' ævum, sæculum.
  - "sikhirti' the whole of anything. 'Gimirti' has exactly the same meaning. The latter is from the Hebrew 'gimir' בניר complete, entire, also perfectus, absolutus. Thus Tiglath Pileser calls himself 'sar gimir' the perfect king.
    - 'ashrat' ten, Hebrew עשרת.

- 'shavasti' or 'shusti' six, from ww 'shesh,' in construction www 'shesht.'
- 'shana' years, Heb. שנה 'shana' a year.
- 'abbushu' it was dried up by the heat of the sun, from 'bashal' (Ges. 182) coctus est solis ardore.
- 'weshatshir,' from קצר to cut off.
- 'mutzu' springs of water, from NY exire, to spring forth.
- Line 50. 'kattiti' broken rocks; 'ashur' I found.
  - 'shalki' a rivulet, Heb. שלם ductus aquæ.
  - 'shiplanu' down, from '50", so 'elanu' up. We frequently find the phrase 'elish u shiplish' up and down.
  - 'giri' mountains. This is also a Sanskrit word, ex. gr. 'nilgiri' the blue mountains (the Neilgherries). But we also find in the Assyrian inscriptions 'gini' used for mountains. In the present passage the word is contracted, being merely written 'gi' with the plural sign added; it may therefore be either 'giri' or 'gini.'
  - 'elanish' over.
  - 'asib' or 'atsib' intrat, it per medium.
  - 'mami' Heb. מים waters. 'Mie' is also often used, which is the Hebrew ים.
  - 'nabalish' most copiously, from נבע, also בא; 'nabu' or 'naba' copiosè effudit (Ges. 643).
  - 'wetar' I restored as formerly, 'litar' may he restore, from Chaldeo 'hedar' און redditio, restitutio (Buxt. 599).
- Line 51. 'shukli,' from Heb. 'shekel' by to measure (see Hincks in the Transactions of the R. I. A., vol. 23, page 38).
- Line 52. 'Mastiggar' or 'Vastiggar' is the usual name of the river Tigris in these inscriptions. The first syllable, appearing to be superfluous, has perplexed Assyrian scholars, and hitherto remained without explanation. But I have little doubt that it was the true name of the river. At any rate, the Greeks must have heard it so pronounced by the natives in the southern or lower part of its course. For they call that portion of the river the 'Pasitigris.' And it seems not improbable that the 'Tigris' is merely this native name shortened and Hellenized, as in many other instances they were accustomed to do. Thus, for example, Sir W. Jones informs us the Εραννοβοαs of the Greeks, or lovely murmuring stream, is a corruption of the long Sanskrit term 'hiranya-bahu.'
- Line 53. 'adir' is הדר קרש cultus : מרו מולעו cultus sacer (Ges. 269).

- In Chald. הדר is to give glory, especially to God. The people may have sung a hymn at the moment when the clay tablet was deposited by the king.
- 'lacnish' I have translated solemnly, but it may be without accident or injury: from 'anah' מענה to injure.
- Line 54. 'etzib' I left. Hebrew I'y 'ezib' or 'etzib' to leave.

  Cuneiform
- Line 55. 'uplamma,' see 1. 42.
  - 'isutzibu' were saved : from 'shatzib' שוב to save.
  - 'weshakki' I adorned the palace. In an inscription of Esarhaddon we find 'weshakki wesarrik' I adorned and made grand my palace: for which passage many texts read 'wesim wesarrik,' so that 'weshakki' replaces 'wesim.' The latter verb is from 'sim' a royal ornament.
  - 'elanish' altogether, from 'elanu' summus. Compare Latin summa, the whole of a thing when added together, and the French en somme.
- Line 56. 'il' above, usually written 'eli;' 'il sha as tami pani' above what it was in former days.
  - 'tsir' above, beyond, is a preposition; 'tsir misikti' beyond the measure; 'tsir' is also an adjective, as 'Ninua makhatzu tziru' Niniveh the exalted city, and also a substantive, as "They came and brought presents 'adi tsiri-ya' to my majesty."
  - 'siktas' for 'sikta-sha' the 'sikta' of it. This word 'sikta' (from \( \mathrew \mathrew \)) appears to be sedes, the basement of the building or its site. \( \mathrew \mathrew \) is to place a thing on a firm basis: to seat it. Also, to be seated and at rest.
  - For 'weshandila' perhaps read 'weshandiba' I enlarged, from 'nadib' largiri, largum esse.
- Line 57. 'ka amsi' ivory, teeth of clephants. So in Hebrew 'shin ebbi.' Often in Assyrian 'ka' alone is ivory, as 'shin' is in Hebrew. The Assyrians also use 'ebbu' for ivory very frequently. This is the native Indian name of the animal: 'ebhu' in Sanskrit. The Latin ebur, ivory, may perhaps be derived from hence. In Egypt also an elephant was called 'ebo.' Ivory had the same name, and there was a sacred island of Ebo which the Greeks called Elephantine. It is in the neighbourhood of Syene.
  - Of the various trees mentioned in 1. 57, the 'butani' is the only one which can perhaps be identified. The 'butani' בטנים (Ges. 139) is the Pistacia vera of botanists, a

- kind of terebinth, allied to the σχίνος of the Greeks, which attained a large size, for its hollow trunk would conecal a man: σχίνον ες αρχαίον κατάδυς επιχώριον ερνός (Theoc.)
- 'ana miship sarti-ya' for the habitation of my majesty, or for my royal residence. 'Miship' is from ישב consedit, mansit, habitavit; in Hiphil collocavit.
- Line 58. 'gimir' all, 'shimdi' carpenters (or rather joiners), from 7122 'shemed' or 'tshemed' to join (Ges. 866).
  - 'csha' makers (Heb. עשה to make), 'tsippati' of wells, 'karrasu' call them (Heb. קרא 'kara' to call), 'etzi ratlat' the best trees, 'mati' of the land.
  - The word 'ratlat' means the best or finest. It is frequently used to denote the finest city or river in a country: for example, in Botta, 49, 1, we have 'Kar-Yakinni ir ratlati-su raba' his great capital city. Its etymology is uncertain.
  - 'karrasu' they call them so, i.e., they are so: a Hebraism.
- Line 59. 'bilku webulliku,' both words are derived apparently from buluk' cavus.
  - 'weshagila panussun' is a very common phrase, always meaning I gave it to them in full property.
- Line 60. 'kishir' a hill. 'Ir kishri' city of the hills.
  - ' weshatzir.' This verb קצר has occurred before in 1. 49.
- Line 61. The 'kasbu' of time was two hours: the 'kasbu' of distance probably a two-hours' walk (from seven to eight miles).

  This latter is called for distinction 'kasbu ebkaru' from 'ebkar' earth, ground, land.
  - 'Kutzuru.' This river near Niniveh still retains nearly its ancient name. It is now called the Khausser. According to the map, Khorsabad is situated on its banks. I am aware that this name may be derived from 'khors' the Sun, but perhaps a simpler etymology would be "the city on the banks of the Khosra or Khausser. (I find that Dr. Hincks has anticipated me in the identification of the ancient and modern name, in Layard's "Nineveh," p. 212.)
  - 'daruti' perennial, from 77 'dar' saculum.
  - 'ashar-sha' of that place.
  - 'weshirda' I brought down (into the valley). 'Sha' conjugation of 'irad' 'I' to descend (Ges. 442). This verb is used frequently of falling water in Hebrew, e.g., 'palgi min tarad aini' my eye lets fall streams of tears ("Lamentations of Jeremiah," iii. 48).

- 'weshabiba' from 'shabu' שבע to fill full.
- 'pattish.' It appears from another inscription that 'patti' signifies waterworks or aqueducts, for after giving an account of a great work of this kind, the king says "I called its name the 'patti' of Sennacherib." And such waterworks are elsewhere called 'ami pattati.' The word 'patti' comes perhaps from 'patar' IDD a fountain of water (Ges. 818). 'Pattish' is for 'patti-sha' the stream of it, or its waterworks.
- Line 62, 'subat' dwellings; see note to Birs Nimrud, I. 16.
  - 'vasrabbi' I enlarged, the same as 'wesharabbi' I made great, which is the 'sha' or causative conjugation of 'rabbah' to be great.
  - 'ribati' streets, Hebrew החבות. -
  - ' weshan' I made new, Hebrew שנה renovare.
  - 'labiriti' from 'labar' old. This adjective which occurs very frequently is one of the most important in the language. It seems peculiar to the Assyrian dialect.
  - 'tsukani' is probably the Phonician word 'suk' forum, a market-place. (See Ges. Phon. 418.)
    - 'wenammir' I made it brilliant.
    - 'kima tami' as the day: or, as the Sun, the god of day. In the E. I. H. inscription the phrase is 'tamish' instead of 'kima tami.'
- Line 63. 'ribitut' regnum, vel regia potestas (see Birs Nimrud, I. 2).
  - 'inambu zigir-su' shall name their names, i.e. shall call them (and invest them with the royal dignity). When Samuel was called to be a prophet of the Lord, we read that his name was audibly called aloud.
  - 'eau' when.
  - 'ilabbiru' shall grow old : from 'labar' old.
  - 'itnakhu' seems to be the Syriac 'ettanak' לאתתנך defecit, it came to an end, from 'tanak' תנך of the same meaning. Possibly however the word should be read 'innakhu' because it frequently occurs as 'inakhu' or 'enakhu.'
- Line 64. 'ankhut' I translate ornaments, but have not yet succeeded in identifying the word in Hebrew.
  - 'luttish' if he shall restore. This verb occurs frequently; also the other tenses 'uttish' I restored, 'muttish' the restorer (of a temple), &c.
  - 'likharu' if he shall read aloud: from 'kara' to read קרא (see Ges. 901), altâ voce legit; etiam 'kara bi sepher' legere quæ in libro scripta sunt.

- 'libsu' if he shall make. This comes either from the verb DDN to finish, or WIY to make (see 1. 42).
- 'likki' if he shall sacrifice: from 'akki' I sacrificed. The word is, I think, derived from 'hag' victima 27.
- 'ashri' from 'ashar' a place, see 1. 11.
- 'litar' if he shall restore or replace: from 'wetar' I restored see 1.50, last word. The origin of all these optative forms of the verb is the particle Lu (if): in Hebrew אלו see Ges. 524, where that learned lexicographer remarks "Lu אל, transit in interjectionem optantis: o si / utinam !"
- 'ikribi' prayers, from 'akrib' I drew nigh. It is the Heb. 

  ¬pappropinquavit, propè accessit (Ges. 903), used of divine worship in Zeph. iii. 2; Levit. xvi. 1, &c. The expression is very common in Scripture, for example, we read in the 1st book of Samuel: "And Saul built an altar unto the Lord..... then said the priest 'let us draw near hither unto God:' and Saul asked counsel of God 'shall I go down after the Philistines?" 1 Sam. xiv. 35.
- 'ishimmi' he will hear, from you audivit.

# Additional Note on the Birs Nimrud Inscription, Col. II. 29.

As the force of this passage seems to depend on the meaning of the king's name, Nabiu-kudur-ussur, I have thought it desirable to resume that enquiry in an additional note.

One of the kings of Babylon was called 'Nergal-sar-ussur' or Nergal, protect the king! A fine cylinder of this monarch is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The eldest son of Nabonidus was called 'Bel-sar-ussur,' or Bel, protect the king! The father of Nebuchadnezzar was called 'Nebopal ussur' or Nebo, protect thy son! a name which the Greeks have slightly altered into 'Nabopolassar.' From the analogy of these names, one is led to form a conjecture that 'Nabiu-kudur-ussur' may also have meant Nebo, protect the king! The question is, how that name ought to be analysed! This great monarch had another name, 'Nabiu-shadu-ussur' or 'Naboshadussur,' which we also find frequently in use. These two names I am disposed to interpret 'Nebo, protect my crown! and Nebo, protect my throne! which are naturally to be viewed as equivalent names. 'Shadu' implies great dignity

and authority of some kind, for in Scripture "W is used to express the divino majesty. The word 'shadi' frequently occurs in the inscriptions, where, to judge from the context, it may mean a royal throne. And "W 'shad' is dominus, a lord. Moreover, since writing this, I have noticed a passage in the annals of Ashurakhbal in which 'shatu' means plainly a king. That monarch addressing the god Niney, calls himself 'Shatu naram lib-ka' the king beloved by thy heart.

'Kudur' appears to signify a royal crown, which in Persian was called Kitap or Kidap (as the Greek authors have transcribed it). But not in Persian only: for in an inscription of Esarhaddon, that monarch describes himself as sitting in state and placing the crown on his head, while his subjects and the chiefs he had conquered bowed down and did homage before him. He says: 'Kuduru as reshdu-ya assima' I placed the crown on my head. This passage would be almost conclusive if the reading were certain. But it is possible that the word may be 'knkuru' orbis, circulus. The meaning would, however, be the same, I placed the diadem on my head. It is worth observing, that in some inscriptions the king calls himself 'Nabiukukur-ussur;' at least, if the word be meant for 'kudur,' there is no distinction observed between the 'ku' and the 'du.' It will be desirable, of course, to find more passages in the inscriptions confirmatory of this one; but in the meanwhile, I think that these grounds are sufficient for venturing to propose this new explanation of the famous name of Nebuchadnezzar.